A

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES

AND

TRAVELS,

FROM

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN TWENTY-EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

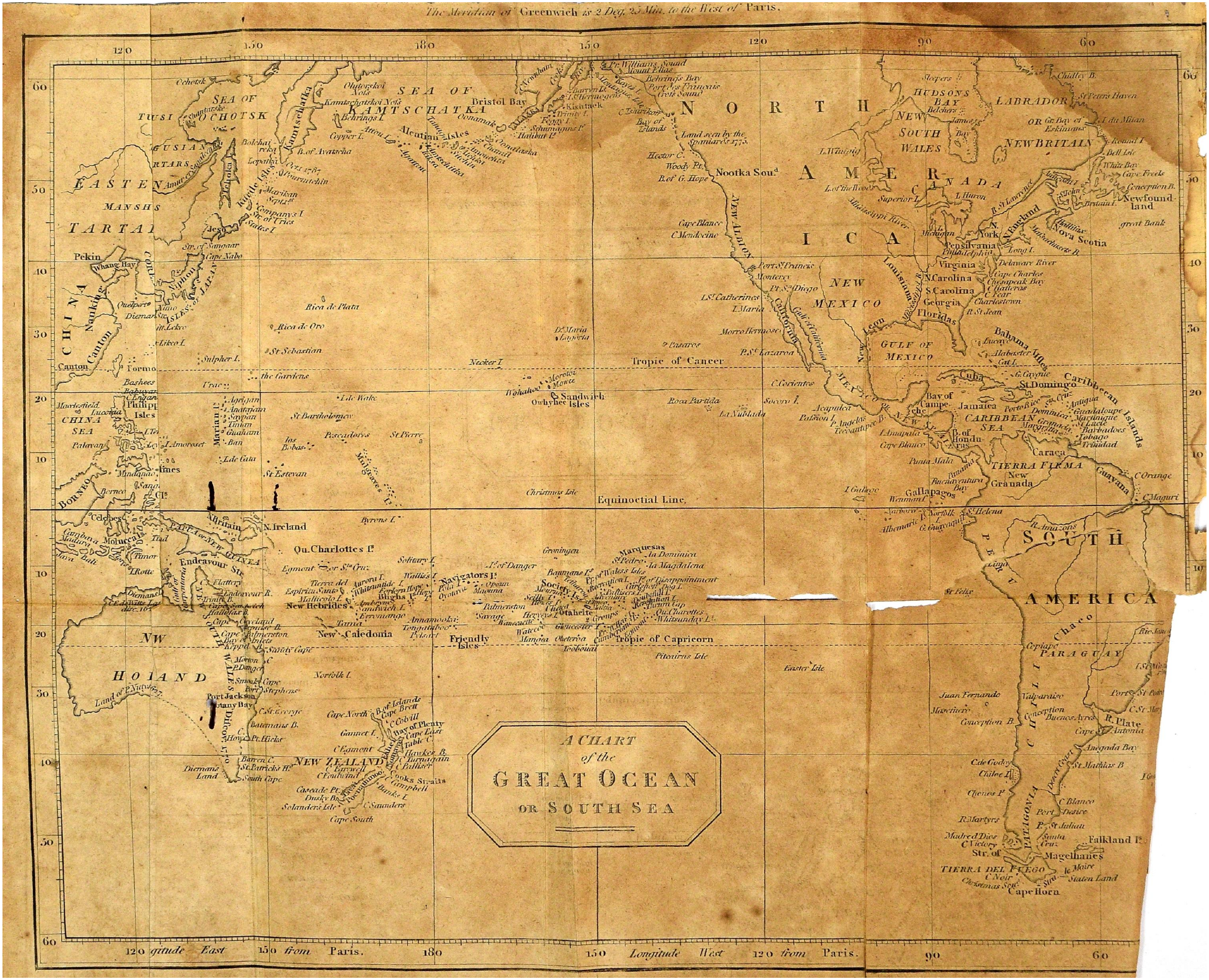
LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,

BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS.

1809.

Printed by Richard Taylor and Co. Shoe Lane, London.


The Meridian of Greenwich is 2 Deg. 25 Min. to the West of Paris.
A CHART of the GREAT OCEAN OR SOUTH SEA
SEA OF OCHOTSK
SEA OF KAMTSCHATKA
Bristol Bay
Aleutian Isles
NORTH AMERICA
HUDSONS BAY
NEW SOUTH WALES
LABRADOR
NEW BRITAIN
CANADA
Newfoundland
Nova Scotia
Nootka Soud.
NEW ALBION
NEW MEXICO
Louisiana
Pensilvania
Virginia
N.Carolina
S.Carolina
Georgia
Floridas
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
Tropic of Cancer
Sandwich Isles
Owhyhee Isles
Cuba
St.Domingo
Jamaica
CARIBBEAN SEA
Caribbean Islands
TIERRA FIRMA
New Granada
Gallapagos
Guayana
Equinoctial Line
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
Chaco
PARAGUAY
CHILI
R.Plate
PATAGONIA
Falkland I.
Magellanes
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Cape Horn
Staten Land
EASTERN TARTARY
MANSHS
CHINA
Pekin
Nanking
Canton
CHINA SEA
Philippine Isles
BORNEO
Celebes
Moluccas
Marianne Isles
Ladrone
N.Britain
N.Ireland
Qu.Charlottes Is.
Endeavour Str.
NEW GUINEA
New Hebrides
New Caledonia
Friendly Isles
Navigators Is.
Society Is.
Otaheite
Marquesas
Tropic of Capricorn
Easter Isle
NW HOLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
Dimans Land
NEW ZEALAND
Cooks Straits
Cape South
Norfolk I.
Juan Fernando
Longitude East from Paris.
Longitude West from Paris.
120
150
180
150
120
90
60

CONTENTS.

Anson's Voyage Round the World - - - 1

Ulloa's Voyage to South America - - - 253

A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

BY

GEORGE ANSON, ESQ.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF A SQUADRON OF BRITISH SHIPS OF WAR*.

CHAP. I.

The Passage from St. Helens to the Island of Madeira; with a short Account of our Stay there.

ON the 18th of September, 1740, the squadron weighed from St. Helens with a contrary wind, the commodore proposing to tide it down the Channel, as he dreaded less the inconveniencies he should thereby have to struggle with, than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprise, by an uncertain, and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The squadron allotted to this service consisted of five men of war, a sloop of war, and two victualling ships. They were the Centurion of sixty guns, four hundred men, George Anson, esq.†, commander;

* We have retained in the account of this voyage the original language of Mr. Walter, the chaplain of the Centurion, who published this narrative of the voyage in 1748.

† George Anson was descended from an ancient and honourable family in Staffordshire. He was born on the 23d of April 1697; and, having early devoted himself to the naval service of his country, went through the subordinate stations with applause; and in due time was promoted to the command of a man of war. In this capacity, being distinguished for courage

the Gloucester of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris commander; the Severn of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg commander; the Pearl of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel commander; the Wager of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and sixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; and the Trial sloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray commander: the two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burthen; these were to attend us, till the provisions we had taken on board were so far consumed as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which when we had taken into our ships, they were to be discharged. Besides the complement of men borne by the abovementioned ships as their crews, there were embarked on board the squadron about four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, which were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cracherode. With this squadron, together with the St. Albans and the Lark, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. Anson, after weighing from St. Helens, tided it down the Channel for the first forty-eight hours; and on the 20th, in the morning, we discovered off the Ram-Head the Dragon, Winchester, South-Sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy: these we joined about noon the same day, our commodore

---

and conduct, he was appointed commodore of the celebrated expedition we are about to relate; and after his return was raised progressively to the highest rank in his profession; was deservedly honoured with a peerage, and for some years presided as first commissioner of the board of admiralty. His public services were various and important: the last in which he was engaged, was the conveyance of her present majesty to England in 1761. On the 6th of July, 1762, he paid the debt of nature, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, more full of honour than of days.

having orders to see them, together with the St. Albans and Lark, as far into the sea as their course and ours lay together. When we came in sight of this last-mentioned fleet, Mr. Anson first hoisted his broad pennant, and was saluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this last convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred-and-fifty sail of merchantmen, consisting of the Turkey, the Streights, and the American trade. Mr. Anson, the same day, made a signal for all the captains of the men of war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions; and then, with a fair wind, we all stood towards the south-west; and the next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues from the Ram-Head; and being now clear of the land, our commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered captain Mitchel, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues a-head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester and the American convoy made the concerted signal for leave to separate, which being answered by the commodore, they left us; as the St. Albans and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Streights convoy, did on the 29th. After which separation, there remained in company only our own squadron and our two victuallers, with which we kept on our course for the island of Madeira. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our passage thither from St. Helens, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a most unpleasing circumstance, productive of much discontent and ill-humour amongst our people, of which those only can have a tolerable idea who have had the experience of a like situation. And besides the peevishness and despondency which foul and contrary winds and a lingering voyage never fail to create on all occasions, we, in particular, had very

substantial reasons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment. For, as we had departed from England much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almost all our hopes of success in the chance of retrieving in some measure at sea, the time we had so unhappily wasted at Spithead and St. Helens. However, at last, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in Madeira road, in forty fathom water; the Brazen-Head bearing from us E. by S., the Loo N. N. W., and the Great Church N. N. E. We had hardly let go our anchor, when an English privateer sloop ran under our stern, and saluted the commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. And the next day the consul of the island coming to visit the commodore, we saluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine and other refreshments. And on the 3d of November, captain Richard Norris having signified by a letter to the commodore, his desire to quit his command on board the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health, the commodore complied with his request; and thereupon was pleased to appoint captain Matthew Mitchel to command the Gloucester in his room, and to remove captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and captain Murray from the Trial sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Trial to lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, to be the first place of rendezvous in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the best of their way to the island of St. Catherine on the coast of Brazil. The water for the

squadron being the same day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the island of Madeira.

CHAP. II.

From Madeira to St. Catherine's—Port St. Julian—Streights Le Maire.

In our passage to the island of St. Catherine, (the commodore having countermanded the rendezvous at St. Jago,) we found the direction of the trade-winds to differ considerably from what we had reason to expect, both from the general histories given of these winds, and the experience of former navigators.

On the 20th of November, the captains of the squadron represented to the commodore, that their ships' companies were very sickly, and that it was their own opinion as well as their surgeons, that it would tend to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ships were so deep, they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation, the commodore ordered six air scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places where they would least weaken it.

We crossed the equinoctial with a fine fresh gale at S. E. on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of 27° 59′ W. from London.

We now began to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick, and for the refreshment and security of those who as yet continued healthier. When we departed from St. Helens, we were in so good a condition, that we lost but two men on board the Centurion, in our long passage to

Madeira. But in this present run between Madeira and St. Catherine's we have been very sickly, so that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our own ship and in the rest of the squadron, and several of these past all hopes of recovery. The disorders they in general labour under are such as are common to the hot climates, and what most ships bound to the southward experience in a greater or less degree. These are those kind of fevers, which they usually call calentures: a disease, which was not only terrible in its first instance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered from it. For it always left them in a very weak and helpless condition, and usually afflicted with fluxes and tenesmuses. And by our continuance at sea all our complaints were every day increasing, so that it was with great joy that we discovered the coast of Brazil on the 18th of December, at seven in the morning, and on the 21st arrived at St. Catherine's.

Our first care, after having moored our ships, was to send our sick men on shore, each ship be[illegible]g ordered by the commodore to erect two tents for that purpose; one of them for the reception of the diseased, and the other for the accommodation of the surgeon and his assistants. We sent about eighty sick from the Centurion, and the other ships I believe sent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as we had performed this necessary duty, we scraped our decks, and gave our ship a thorough cleansing; then smoked it between decks, and after all, washed every part well with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary for correcting the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin; for from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree; and besides being most intolerably offensive, they were doubtless in some sort productive of the sick-

ness we had laboured under for a considerable time before our arrival at this island.

Our next employment was wooding and watering our squadron, caulking our ships sides' and decks, overhauling our rigging, and securing our masts against the tempestuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our passage round Cape Horn, in so advanced and inconvenient a season.

In leaving St. Catherine's, we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hostile, or at best a desert and inhospitable coast. And as we were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of separation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more pernicious nature were likewise to be apprehended, and as much as possible to be provided against. And therefore Mr. Anson, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had considered, that it was possible his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost, and had given proper directions, that even in that case the expedition should not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains, the day before we sailed from St. Catherine's, were, that in case of separation, which they were with the utmost care to endeavour to avoid, the first place of rendezvous should be the bay of port St. Julian; describing the place from sir John Narborough's account of it: there they were to supply themselves with as much salt as they could take in, both for their own use, and for the use of the squadron: and if, after a stay there of ten days, they were not joined by the commodore, they were then to proceed through Streights le Maire round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the island of Nuestra Señora del Socoro, in the latitude of 45° S; and longitude from the

Lizard 71° 12′ West. They were to bring this island to bear E. N. E., and to cruize from five to twelve degrees distance from it, as long as their store of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmost frugality. And when they were under an absolute necessity of a fresh supply, they were to stand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring place; and in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply their ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the island of Juan Fernandes, in the latitude of 33° 37′ South. And as soon as they had there recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruizing off the anchoring place of that island for fifty-six days; in which time, if they were not joined by the commodore, they might conclude that some accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost endeavours to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. That with these views their new commodore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were recruited by what he should take from the enemy, reserving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to Macao, at the entrance of the river Tigris near Canton on the coast of China; where having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence, without delay, to make the best of his way to England. And as it was found impossible as yet to unload our victualler the Anna pink, the commodore gave the master of her the same rendezvous, and the same orders to put himself under the command of the remaining senior officer.

Under these orders the squadron sailed from St. Catherine's on Sunday the 18th of January. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it soon became fair

again with light breezes, and continued thus till Wednesday evening, when it blew fresh again; and increasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships length, so that the whole squadron disappeared. On this, a signal was made, by firing guns, to bring-to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due east. We ourselves immediately handed the top-sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay-to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and we soon discovered all the ships of the squadron except the Pearl, who did not join us till near a month afterwards. The Trial sloop was a great way to leeward, having lost her main-mast in this squall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We bore down with the squadron to her relief, and the Gloucester was ordered to take her in tow, for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then, a great swell continued from the eastward, in consequence of the preceding storm. After this accident we stood to the southward with little interruption.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. Julian, principally with a view of refitting the Trial, the carpenters were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The Trial's main-mast having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again; and the Wager was ordered to supply her with a spare main top-mast, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-mast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the Trial's mast, which gave us so much uneasiness at that time, on account of the delay it occasioned, was, in all probability, the means of preserving the sloop and all her crew. For before this, her masts, how well soever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for these high

southern latitudes: so that had they weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against those seas and tempests we afterwards encountered in passing round Cape Horn; and the loss of masts in that boisterous climate would scarcely have been attended with less than the loss of the vessel, and of every man on board her; since it would have been impracticable for the other ships to have given them any relief during the continuance of those impetuous storms.

Whilst we stayed at this place, the commodore appointed the honourable captain Murray to succeed to the Pearl, and captain Cheap to the Wager, and he promoted Mr. Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to the command of the Trial sloop. But captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the surgeons, that the removing him on board his own ship, in his present condition, might tend to the hazard of his life; Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as master and commander of the Trial during the illness of captain Saunders.

Here the commodore too, in order to ease the expedition of all unnecessary expense, held a further consultation with his captains about unloading and discharging the Anna pink; but they represented to him, that they were so far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had still great quantities of provisions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ships were withal so very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the commodore under a necessity of retaining the pink in the service; and as it was apprehended we should certainly meet with the Spanish squadron, in passing the Cape, Mr. Anson thought it advisable to give orders to the captains, to put all their provisions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the

Anna pink, and to remount such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold.

The Trial being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. Julian, and the sole occasion of our stay, the commodore thought it necessary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas and the enemy's coasts, to regulate the plan of his future operations.

On Friday the 27th of February, at seven in the morning, stood to the sea; the Gloucester indeed found a difficulty in purchasing her anchor, and was left a considerable way a-stern, so that in the night we fired several guns as a signal to her captain to make sail, but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their best bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, Wood's Mount, the high land over St. Julian, bore from us N. by W. distant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathom of water. And now standing to the southward, we had great expectation of falling in with Pizarro's squadron, for during our stay at port St. Julian there had generally been hard gales between the W.N.W. and S.W., so that we had reason to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. And it was the prospect of meeting with them that had occasioned our commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships: for had we been solely intent on getting round Cape Horn in the shortest time, the properest method for this purpose would have been, to have ordered each ship to have made the best of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.

We here found, what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding short duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm, for the calm and

sunshine of our afternoon ended in a most turbulent night, the wind freshening from the S. W. as the night came on, and increasing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew so hard that we were obliged to bring-to with the squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-seven fathom water, with black sand and gravel; and by an observation we had at noon, we concluded a current had set us twelve miles to the southward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made sail again; and steering south, we discovered in the morning for the first time the land called Terra del Fuego, stretching from the S. by W. to the S. E. ½ E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable prospect, it appearing of a stupendous height, covered every where with snow.

On the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Streights Le Maire, and soon after, or about ten o'clock, the Pearl and the Trial being ordered to keep a-head of the squadron, we entered them with fair weather and a brisk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these streights are often considered as the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and as we presumed we had nothing now before us but an open sea, till we arrived on those opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centred, we could not help flattering ourselves that the greatest difficulty of our passage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realized; and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes, which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were heightened by the brightness of the sky, and the serenity of the weather, which was indeed most

HE LAND OF PATAGONIA TO THE NO

remarkably pleasing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildness, gave place to none we had seen since our departure from England. Thus animated by these delusions, we traversed these memorable streights, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending, and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when the squadron would be separated never to unite again, and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy.

CHAP. III.

From Streights Le Maire to Cape Noir.

WE had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Streights of Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were instantly lost in the apprehensions of immediate destruction: for, before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the streights, the serenity of the sky was suddenly changed, and gave us all the presages of an impending storm; and immediately the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that we were obliged to hand our top-sails, and reef our main-sail: the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, now turned against us, and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that we were in great anxiety for the Wager and the Anna pink, the two sternmost vessels, fearing they would be dashed to pieces against the shore of Staten-land; nor were our apprehensions without foundation, for it was with the utmost difficulty they escaped. And now the whole squadron, instead of pursuing their intended course to the S.W., were driven to the eastward by the united force of the storm and of the currents; so that next

day in the morning we found ourselves near seven leagues to the eastward of Staten-land, which then bore from us N.W. The violence of the current, which had set us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the force and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprise that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though some amongst us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have met with in this undertaking, as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskilfulness, than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas; but we were now severely convinced that these censures were rash and ill-grounded: for the distresses with which we struggled, during the three succeeding months, will not easily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by those who shall carefully peruse the ensuing narration.

From the storm which came on before we had well got clear of Streights Le Maire, we had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather, as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short and at the same time such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe:—and it was not without great reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must, in all probability, have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for the ship rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks or sides of the ship. And

though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular one of our best seamen was canted over board and drowned, another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main hold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the same kind. These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstance, were yet rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at some times afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie-to for days together, under a reefed mizen, and were sometimes reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail with our courses double reefed; and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to set our top-sails; after which, the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggrandize our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to snap upon the slightest strain, adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were indeed endless to enumerate the various disasters of different kinds which befell us; and I shall only mention the most material, which will sufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole squadron during the course of this navigation.

It was on the 7th of March, as hath been already observed, that we passed Streights Le Maire, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eastward by a violent storm, and the force of the current which set that way. For the four or five succeeding days we had hard gales of wind from the same quarter, with a most prodigious swell; so that though we stood, during all that time, towards the S. W. yet we had no reason to imagine we had made any way to the westward. In this interval we had frequent squalls of rain and snow, and shipped great quantities of water; after which for three or four days, though the seas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather moderate: but on the 18th we had again strong gales of wind with extreme cold, and at midnight the main topsail split, and one of the straps of the main dead eyes broke. From hence to the 23d the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and sleet, and some hard gales; but as the waves did not subside, the ship, by labouring in this lofty sea, was now grown so loose in her upper works, that she let in the water at every seam, so that every part within board was constantly exposed to the sea water, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare, that two nights ever passed without many of them being driven from their beds by the deluge of water that came upon them.

On the 23d, we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great sea; and though we handed the main topsail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard sprung; and soon after the foot-rope of the main-sail breaking, the main-sail itself split instantly to rags, and, in spite of our endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. On this, the commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring-to; and the storm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top-sail yard to put the

carpenters at work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new mainsail, we got under sail again with a moderate breeze; but in less than twenty-four hours we were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged, in the afternoon, to wear ship, in order to join the squadron to the leeward, which otherwise we should have been in danger of losing in the night: and as we dared not venture any sail abroad, we were obliged to make use of an expedient, which answered our purpose; this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-shrouds. But though this method proved successful for the end intended, yet in the execution of it one of our ablest seamen was canted overboard; and notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, we perceived that he swam very strong, and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him; and we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, since we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived from the manner in which he swam, that he might continue sensible for a considerable time longer of the horror attending his irretrievable situation.

Before this last-mentioned storm was quite abated, we found two of our main shrouds and one mizen shroud broke, all which we knotted, and set up immediately; and from hence we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almost every half-hour, to keep our squadron together. On the 31st, we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made by her to speak with the commodore: we immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of some terrible disaster; but we were apprised of it before

we joined her, for we saw that her main sail was broke in the slings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was obvious it would prove a hindrance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. But our future success and safety were not to be promoted by repining, but by resolution and activity; and therefore, that this unlucky incident might delay us as little as possible, the commodore ordered several carpenters to be put on board the Gloucester from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. And the captain of the Trial complaining at the same time that his pumps were so bad, and the sloop made so great a quantity of water, that he was scarcely able to keep her free, the commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. It was very fortunate for the Gloucester and the Trial that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days both before and after; since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed essential to their preservation, and which they could scarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is, on the 1st of April, the weather returned again to its customary bias, the sky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freshen and to blow in squalls: however, it was not yet so boisterous, as to prevent our carrying our top-sails close reefed; but its appearance was such, as plainly prognosticated that a still severer tempest was at hand: and accordingly, on the 3d of April, there came on a storm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it lasted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its first onset we received a furious shock from a sea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove-in the quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge; our

rigging too suffered extremely; for one of the straps of the main dead eyes was broke, as was also a main shroud and puttock shroud, so that to ease the stress upon the masts and shrouds, we lowered both our main and fore yards, and furled all our sails, and in this posture we lay-to for three days; when the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only: but even this we could not do long; for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie-to again till night. It was wonderful, that notwithstanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the squadron since the breaking of the Gloucester's main yard: but this wonder soon ceased; for at three the next morning several guns were fired to leeward as signals of distress. And the commodore making a signal for the squadron to bring-to, we at day-break saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships; and we soon perceived that she had lost her mizen mast and main topsail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron work; for all the chain plates to windward had given way, upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return: nor was the Wager the only ship of the squadron that had suffered in the late tempest; for the next day a signal of distress was made by the Anna pink, and upon speaking with the master, we learnt that they had broke their fore stay and the gammon of the bowsprit, and were in no small danger of having all the masts come by the board; so that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all fast, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our solicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been inces-

santly exposed for near forty days, we had great consolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we should soon arrive in a more hospitable climate, where we should be amply repaid for all our past sufferings. For towards the latter end of March we were advanced, by our reckoning, near 10 degrees to the westward of the westernmost point of Terra del Fuego; and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought necessary to be taken, in order to compensate the drift of the eastern current, we esteemed ourselves to be well advanced within the limits of the Southern Ocean, and had therefore been ever since standing to the northward with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather and our frequent disasters permitted. And on the 13th of April we were but a degree in latitude to the southward of the west entrance of the Streights of Magellan; so that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean.

But these were delusions which only served to render our disappointment more terrible; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were standing to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the pink made a signal for seeing land right a-head; and it being but two miles distant, we were all under the most dreadful apprehensions of running on shore; which, had either the wind blown from its usual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon suddenly shone out, not a ship amongst us could possibly have avoided: but the wind, which some few hours before blew in squalls from the S. W., having fortunately shifted to W. N. W., we were enabled to stand to the southward, and to clear ourselves of this unexpected danger; so that by noon we had gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Terra del Fuego, near the

southern outlet described in Frezier's chart of the Streights of Magellan, and was supposed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed most wonderful, that the currents should have driven us to the eastward with such strength; for the whole squadron esteemed themselves upwards of ten degrees more westerly than this land, so that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced above half that distance. And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil seas, we were to steer again to the southward, and were again to combat those western blasts which had so often terrified us; and this, too, when we were weakened by our men falling sick, and dying apace, and when our spirits, dejected by a long continuance at sea, and by our late disappointment, were much less capable of supporting us in the various difficulties, which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the discouragement we received by the diminution of the strength of the squadron; for three days before this, we lost sight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning; and though we spread our ships, and beat about for them some time, yet we never saw them more; whence we had apprehensions that they too might have fallen in with this land, in the night, and, by being less favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on shore and have perished. Full of these dejected thoughts and gloomy presages, we stood away to the S. W., prepared by our late disaster to suspect, that how large soever an allowance we made in our westing for the drift of the eastern current, we might still, upon a second trial, perhaps find it insufficient.

CHAP. IV.

From Cape Noir to the Island of Juan Fernandes.

After the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of Terra del Fuego, when we esteemed ourselves ten degrees to the westward of it; after this disappointment, I say, recited in the preceding chapter, we stood away to the S. W. till the 22d of April, when we were in upwards of 60° of South latitude, and by our account near 6° to the westward of Cape Noir; and in this run, we had a series of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season: so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside, was by far the most eligible of any we enjoyed from Streights Le Maire to the west coast of America. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the 24th; but on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we lost sight of the other four ships of the squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for, the next morning, endeavouring to hand the topsails, the clew lines and bunt lines broke, and the sheets being half flown, every seam in the topsails was soon split from top to bottom, and the main topsail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the mast: however, at length some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives. At the same time, the fore-topsail beat about the yard with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces; and that we might have

full employment, the main sail blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail, and the fore yard being likewise lowered, we lay-to under a mizen: and besides the loss of our top-sails, we had much of our other rigging broke, and lost a main studding-sail boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to sway-up our yards, and to repair, in the best manner we could, our shattered rigging; but still we had no sight of the rest of our squadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them again, till after our arrival at Juan Fernandes; nor did any two of them, as we have since learned, continue in company together. And this total separation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. It must indeed be owned, that this separation gave us room to expect that we might make our passage in a shorter time than if we had continued together, because we could now make the best of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourselves were hereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety would depend upon our single ship: so that if a plank started, or any other accident of the same nature should take place, we must all irrecoverably perish; or should we be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting away; whereas, with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, since, in every kind of danger, there would be some probability that one ship at least might escape, and might be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day, since the 22d, edging to the northward: how-

ever, on the last day of the month we flattered ourselves with the hopes of soon terminating all our sufferings, for we that day found ourselves in the latitude of 52° 13', which being to the northward of the Streights of Magellan, we were assured that we had completed our passage, and had arrived in the confines of the Southern Ocean; and this ocean being nominated Pacific, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we should be speedily cheered with the moderate gales, the smooth water, and the temperate air, for which that tract of the globe has been so renowned. And under the influence of these pleasing circumstances, we hoped to experience some kind of compensation for the complicated miseries which had so constantly attended us for the last eight weeks. But here we were again disappointed; for in the succeeding month of May our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rigging, or the diminishing and weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the probable prospect of our total destruction. All this will be sufficiently evident, from the following circumstantial account of our diversified misfortunes.

Soon after our passing Streights Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance amongst us; and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that at the latter end of April there were but few on board who were not in some degree afflicted with it, and in that month no less than forty-three died of it on board the Centurion. But though we thought that the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope, that as we advanced to the northward its malignity would abate, yet we found on the contrary, that in the month of May we lost near dou-

ble that number: and as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that, after the loss of above two hundred men, we could not at last muster more than six fore-mast men in a watch capable of duty.

This disease, so frequently attending long voyages, and so particularly destructive to us, is surely the most singular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. For its symptoms are inconstant and innumerable, and its progress and effects extremely irregular; for scarcely any two persons have the same complaints, and where there hath been found some conformity in the symptoms, the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diseases, and is therefore not to be described by any exclusive and infallible criterions; yet there are some symptoms which are more general than the rest, and therefore, occurring the oftenest, deserve a more particular enumeration. These common appearances are large discoloured spots dispersed over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and above all, an extraordinary lassitude of the whole body, especially after any exercise, however inconsiderable; and this lassitude at last degenerates into a proneness to swoon on the least exertion of strength, or even on the least motion.

This disease is likewise usually attended with a strange dejection of the spirits, and with shiverings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the slightest accident. Indeed it was most remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever discouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the distemper; for it usually killed those who were in the last stages of it, and confined those to their hammocks who were before capable of some kind of duty; so that it seemed

as if alacrity of mind, and sanguine thoughts, were no contemptible preservatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not easy to complete the long roll of the various concomitants of this disease; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains, and sometimes it occasioned an obstinate costiveness, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing; and this was esteemed the most deadly of all the scorbutic symptoms: at other times the whole body, but more especially the legs, was subject to ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and such a luxuriancy of fungous flesh as yielded to no remedy. But a most extraordinary circumstance, and what would be scarcely credible upon any single evidence, is, that the scars of wounds which had been for many years healed, were forced open again by this virulent distemper: of this there was a remarkable instance in one of the invalids on board the Centurion, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured soon after, and had continued well for a great number of years past, yet, on his being attacked by the scurvy, his wounds, in the progress of his disease, broke out afresh, and appeared as if they had never been healed: nay, what is still more astonishing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was found to be hereby dissolved, and the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated. Indeed the effects of this disease were in almost every instance wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconsiderable share of health; for they ate and drank heartily, were cheerful, and talked with much seeming vigour, and with a loud strong tone of voice; and yet on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their seem-

ing strength, and have resolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck; and it was no uncommon thing for those who were able to walk the deck, and to do some kind of duty, to drop down dead in an instant, on any endeavours to act with their utmost vigour, many of our people having perished in this manner during the course of this voyage.

With this terrible disease we struggled the greatest part of the time of our beating round Cape Horn; and though it did not then rage with its utmost violence, yet we buried no less than forty-three men on board the Centurion, in the month of April, as hath been already observed, but we still entertained hopes, that when we should have once secured our passage round the Cape, we should put a period to this, and all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the Pacific Ocean was to us less hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn: for being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the island of Socoro, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron, and where we hoped to have met with some of our companions, we cruized for them in that station several days. And here we were not only disappointed in our hopes of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy suggestions of their having all perished; but we were likewise perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on shore upon this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least hopes, that in such a case any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction. For the land had indeed a most tremendous aspect: the most distant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains usually called the Andes or Cordilleras, was extremely high, and covered with snow; and the coast itself seemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge skirted with precipices.

In some places, indeed, there appeared several deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little islands; and though it was not improbable that there might be convenient shelter in some of those bays, and proper channels leading thereto; yet as we were utterly ignorant of the coast, had we been driven ashore by the western winds which blew almost constantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loss of our ships and of our lives.

And this continued peril, which lasted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship; as the scurvy had by this time destroyed so great a part of our hands, and had in some degree affected almost the whole crew. Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds less violent as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious squalls which split our sails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our masts. Indeed, during the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard, that in another situation, where we had sufficient sea-room, we should certainly have lain-to; but in the present exigency we were necessitated to carry both our courses and top-sails, in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it passed, marking them in different parts of the body: this flame was attended with a strong sulphurous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent blasts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues and terrors which we encountered on this coast; all these went on increasing till the

22d of May, at which time the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and about eight in the evening a mountainous overgrown sea took us upon our starboard-quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were greatly endangered; our ballast and stores too were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. Indeed it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more sails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ship laboured very much in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale-to, for want of sail to steady her: so that we expected our masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourselves the best we could to stirrup our shrouds, to reeve new landyards, and to mend our sails; but while these necessary operations were carrying on, we ran great risk of being driven on shore on the island of Chiloe, which was not far distant from us; but in the midst of our peril the wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered off the land with the main-sail only, the master and myself undertaking the management of the helm, while every one else on board was busied in securing the masts, and bending the sails as fast as they could be repaired. This was the last effort of that stormy climate; for, in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced since our passing Streights Le Maire. And now having cruized in vain for more than a fortnight in quest of the other ships of the squadron, it was re-

solved to take the advantage of the present favourable season and the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the island of Juan Fernandes. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet as we had hitherto seen none of our companions at this first rendezvous, it was not to be supposed that any of them would be found at the second: indeed we had the greatest reason to suspect that all but ourselves had perished. Besides, we were by this time reduced to so low a condition, that instead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmost hopes could only suggest to us the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our speedy arrival at Juan Fernandes; for this was the only road in that part of the world where there was any probability of our recovering our sick, or refitting our vessel, and consequently our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid perishing at sea.

Our deplorable situation then allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the island of Juan Fernandes; and to save time, which was now extremely precious, (our men dying four, five, and six in a day,) and likewise to avoid being engaged again with a lee-shore, we resolved, if possible, to hit the island upon a meridian. And on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it: but not finding it in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had got too far to the westward; and therefore, though the commodore himself was strongly persuaded that he saw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the haziness of the weather gave some kind of countenance, it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward, in the parallel of the island; as it was certain, that by this course we should either fall-

in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it, or should at least make the main-land of Chili; from whence we might take a new departure, and assure ourselves, by running to the westward afterwards, of not missing the island a second time.

On the 30th of May we had a view of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white; what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Though by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course, when we were, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island; for the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment, and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea: our water too began to grow scarce; so that a general dejection prevailed amongst us, which added much to the virulence of the disease, and destroyed numbers of our best men; and to all these calamities there was added this vexatious circumstance, that when, after having got a sight of the main, we tacked and stood to the westward in quest of the island, we were so much delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it cost us nine days to regain the westing, which, when we stood to the eastward, we ran down in two. In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased that there were not above ten foremast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame, and unable to go aloft: under these disheartening circumstances, I say, we stood to the westward; and on the 9th of June, at day-break, we at last discovered the long-wished-for island of Juan Fernandes. And with this discovery

I shall close this chapter; after observing (which circumstance will furnish a very strong image of our unparalleled distresses), that by our suspecting ourselves to be to the westward of the island on the 28th of May, and, in consequence of this, standing in for the main, we lost between seventy and eighty of our men, whom we should doubtless have saved had we made the island that day, which, had we kept on our course for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

CHAP. V.

The Arrival of the Centurion at the Island of Juan Fernandes.

On the 9th of June, at day-break, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, we first descried the island of Juan Fernandes, bearing N. by E. ½ E., at eleven or twelve leagues distance. And though, on this first view, it appeared to be a very mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet as it was land, and the land we sought for, it was to us a most agreeable sight: for at this place only we could hope to put a period to those terrible calamities we had so long struggled with, which had already swept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at sea, would inevitably have completed our destruction. For we were by this time reduced to so helpless a condition, that out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the ship on an emergency, though we included the officers, their servants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we first made the

island, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter-masters and six fore-mast men capable of working; so that without the assistance of the officers' servants and the boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the island, after we had got sight of it; and even with this assistance they were two hours in trimming the sails: to so wretched a condition was a sixty gun ship reduced, which had passed Streights Le Maire but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almost all of them in health and vigour!

However, on the 10th in the afternoon we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along it, at about two miles distance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the north side. And now being nearer in with the shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods; and that between them there were every where interspersed the finest valleys, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades, no valley, of any extent, being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any that we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear: so that the aspect of this country would, at all times, have been extremely delightful, but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, (an inclination constantly attending every stage of the sea-scurvy,) it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refresh-

ments which were then in sight, and particularly for the water; for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance for a considerable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near a hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that was left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect. Thus we coasted the shore, fully employed in the contemplation of this diversified landskip, which still improved upon us the further we advanced. But at last the night closed upon us, before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we resolved to keep in soundings all night, (we having then from sixty-four to seventy fathom,) and to send our boat next morning to discover the road: however, the current shifted in the night, and set us so near the land, that we were obliged to let-go the best bower in fifty-six fathom, not half a mile from the shore. At four in the morning, the cutter was dispatched with our third lieutenant to find out the bay we were in search of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with seals and grass: for though the island abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's-crew, in their short stay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even grass would prove a dainty,—and indeed it was all soon and eagerly devoured. The seals too were considered as fresh provision; but as yet were not much admired,

though they grew afterwards into more repute: for what rendered them less valuable at this juncture, was the prodigious quantity of excellent fish, which the people on board had taken during the absence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had discovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the westward of our present station; and the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither: but though, on this occasion, we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us; yet the capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down; after which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges and some purchases we made use of to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a fresh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; on which, we steered along shore till we came a-breast of the point that forms the eastern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind that had befriended us thus far, shifted, and blew from thence in squalls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we loofed close in till the anchor brought us up in fifty-six fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new birth, we discovered a sail, which we made no doubt was one of our squadron, and on its nearer approach we found it to be the Trial sloop: we immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from those calamities which we had so severely felt; for her commander, captain Saunders, waiting on the commodore, informed him, that out of his small comple-

ment he had buried thirty-four of his men; and those that remained were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails. The Trial came to an anchor within us, on the 12th about noon, and we carried our hawsers on board her in order to moor ourselves nearer in-shore; but the wind coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended, especially as our principal attention was now employed on business rather of more importance; for we were now extremely occupied in sending on shore materials to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died apace on board: and doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay; for the number of the diseased was so great, and so few could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails, to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanliness, which had rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks: but notwithstanding our desire of freeing the sick from their hateful situation, and their own extreme impatience to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we sent them all on shore, amounting to a hundred and sixty-seven persons, besides at least a dozen who died in the boats on their being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner from the water-side to their tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy; and therefore the commodore, with his accustomed humanity, not only assisted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakness of our sick may, in some measure,

be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore; for it had generally been found that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recover most stages of the sea-scurvy; and we flattered ourselves, that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour; but to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing before the mortality was tolerably ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days, we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those who survived, recovered by very slow and insensible degrees; indeed those who were well enough at their first getting on shore to creep out of their tents and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health and strength in a very short time; but in the rest, the disease seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

Former writers have related that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats, and their accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers, who formerly frequented those seas. And there are two instances; one of a Musquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and consequently were no strangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Duchess privateers of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage: his manner of life, during his solitude, was in most particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumstance he relates, which was so strangely verified by our own observation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, amongst other things, as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was

about thirty-two years before our arrival at the island. Now it happened that the first goat that was killed by our people at their landing had his ears slit, whence we concluded, that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity. During our stay on the island, we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteristic of extreme age.

CHAP. VI.

The Arrival of the Gloucester and the Anna Pink at the Island of Juan Fernandes, and the Transactions at that Place during this interval.

THE arrival of the Trial sloop at this island, so on after we came there ourselves, gave us great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron; and we were for some days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in sight. But near a fortnight being elapsed, without any of them having appeared, we began to despair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that had our ship continued so much longer at sea, we should every man of us have perished; and the vessel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves: and this we had great reason to fear was the fate of our consorts, as each hour added to the probability of these desponding suggestions.

But on the 21st of June, some of our people, from an eminence on shore, discerned a ship to leeward, with her courses even with the horizon; and they, at the same time particularly observed, that she

had no sail abroad except her courses and her main top-sail. This circumstance made them conclude that it was one of our squadron, which had probably suffered in her sails and rigging as severely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a short time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they lost sight of her. On this report, and no ship appearing for some days, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people were in the utmost distress for want of water, and so diminished and weakened by sickness, as not to be able to ply up to the windward; so that we feared that, after having been in sight of the island, her whole crew would notwithstanding perish at sea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we discerned a sail in the north east quarter, which we conceived to be the very same ship that had been seen before, and our conjectures proved true; and about one o'clock she approached so near that we could distinguish her to be the Gloucester. As we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which was a very seasonable relief to them; for our apprehensions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a more distressed situation. They had already thrown overboard two-thirds of their complement; and of those that remained alive, scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of a pint of fresh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had so little left, that, had it not been for the supply we sent them, they must soon have died of thirst. The ship plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, she could not reach the road. However, she continued in the offing the

next day, but had no chance of coming to an anchor, unless the wind and currents shifted; and therefore the commodore repeated his assistance, sending to her the Trial's boat manned with the Centurion's people, and a further supply of water and other refreshments. Captain Mitchel, the captain of the Gloucester, was under a necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews he had no longer strength enough to navigate the ship. In this tantalizing situation the Gloucester continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at some times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July we observed her stretching away to the eastward at a considerable distance, which we supposed was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as we soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiously concerned, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for want of water. After great impatience about her, we discovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this, captain Mitchel made signals of distress, and our long-boat was sent to him with a store of water, and plenty of fish, and other refreshments. And the long-boat being not to be spared, the coxswain had positive orders from the commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving stormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all: but, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety, by the joyful sight of the long-boat's sails upon the water; and we sent the cutter immediately to her assistance, who towed her along-side in a few hours. The crew of our long-boat had taken in six

of the Gloucester's sick men to bring them on shore, two of which had died in the boat. And now we learnt that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except those they received from us; and, numbers of their sick dying daily, we found that, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water. And these calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no further advanced than at the first moment she made the island; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever succeeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the same day her situation grew more desperate than ever, for after she had received our last supply of refreshments, we again lost sight of her; so that we in general despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy vessel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilst the neighbourhood of that place and of those circumstances which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But she was at last delivered from this dreadful situation, at a time when we least expected it; for after having lost sight of her for several days, we were pleasingly surprised, on the morning of the 23d of July, to see her open the N. W. point of the bay with a flowing sail; when we immediately dispatched what boats we had to her assistance, and in an hour's time from our first perceiving her, she anchored safe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we so often sent them, and how impos-

sible it would have been for a man of them to have survived, had we given less attention to their wants; for notwithstanding the water, the greens, and fresh provisions which we supplied them with, and the hands we sent them to navigate the ship, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithstanding this indulgent care of the commodore, they yet buried three-fourths of their crew, and a very small proportion of the remainder were capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On their coming to an anchor, our first care was to assist them in mooring, and our next to send the sick on shore: these were now reduced by deaths to less than four score, of which we expected to lose the greatest part; but whether it was that those furthest advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens and fresh provisions we had sent on board had prepared those which remained for a more speedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their sick were in general relieved and restored to their strength, in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events, relating to the arrival of the Gloucester, in one continued narration: I shall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ships, except our victualler, the Anna pink, who came in about the middle of August, and whose history I shall more particularly relate hereafter. And I shall now return to the account of our own transactions on board and on shore, during the interval of the Gloucester's frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach the island.

Our next employment, after sending our sick on shore from the Centurion, was cleansing our ship and filling our water. The first of these measures was indispensably necessary to our future health, as the

numbers of sick, and the unavoidable negligence arising from our deplorable situation at sea, had rendered the decks most intolerably loathsome. And the filling our water was a caution that appeared not less essential to our future security, as we had reason to apprehend that accidents might oblige us to quit the island at a very short warning; for some appearances, which we had discovered on shore upon our first landing, gave us grounds to believe that there were Spanish cruizers in these seas, which had left the island but a short time before our arrival, and might possibly return there again, either for a recruit of water, or in search of us; for we could not doubt but that the sole business they had at sea was to intercept us, and we knew that this island was the likeliest place, in their own opinion, to meet with us. The circumstances which gave rise to these reflections (in part of which we were not mistaken, as shall be observed more at large hereafter) were our finding on shore several pieces of earthen jars, made use of in those seas for water and other liquids, which appeared to be fresh broken: we saw, too, many heaps of ashes, and near them fish bones and pieces of fish, besides whole fish scattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been but a short time out of the water, as they were but just beginning to decay. These appearances were certain indications that there had been ships at this place but a short time before we came there; and as all Spanish merchantmen are instructed to avoid the island, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded those who had touched here to be ships of force; and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Callao, we were under some concern for our safety, being in so wretched and enfeebled a condition, that notwithstanding the rank of our ship, and the sixty guns she carried on board, which would only have

aggravated our dishonour, there was scarcely a privateer sent to sea, that was not an over-match for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary, and we were not exposed to the disgrace, which might have been expected to have befallen us, had we been necessitated (as we must have been, had the enemy appeared) to fight our sixty-gun ship with no more than thirty hands.

Whilst the cleaning our ship and the filling our water went on, we set up a large copper oven on shore near the sick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ship's company, being extremely desirous of recovering our sick as soon as possible, and considering that new bread, added to their greens and fresh fish, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reason to endeavour at the augmenting our present strength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be insignificant, was extremely alarming in our present helpless situation: of this we had a troublesome instance on the 30th of June; for at five in the morning, we were astonished by a violent gust of wind directly off shore, which instantly parted our small bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: the ship at once swung off to the best bower, which happily stood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eighty fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen seamen in the ship, and we were apprehensive, if the squall continued, that we should be driven to sea in this wretched condition. However, we sent the boat on shore, to bring off all that were capable of acting; and the wind, soon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional strength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we suspected had received some damage from the foulness of the ground before it parted; and, agreeably to our con-

jecture, we found that seven fathom and a half of the outer end had been rubbed, and rendered unserviceable. In the afternoon, we bent the cable to the spare anchor, and got it over the ship's side; and the next morning, July 1, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ship in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom; the eastermost point now bearing from us E. ½ S. the westermost N.W. by W. and the bay as before S.S.W. a situation, in which we remained secure for the future. But we were much concerned for the loss of our anchor, and swept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but the buoy having sunk at the very instant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now as we advanced in July, some of our men being tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were employed in cutting down trees, and splitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water side: this they performed, some of them with the help of crutches, and others supported by a single stick. We next sent the forge on shore, and employed our smiths, who were but just capable of working, in mending our chain-plates, and our other broken and decayed iron work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not a sufficient quantity of junk to make spun yarn, we deferred the general overhale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Gloucester, who, we knew, had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might make as great dispatch as possible in our refitting, we set up a large tent on the beach for the sail-makers; and they were immediately employed in repairing our old sails, and making us new ones.

These occupations, with our cleansing and watering the ship (which was by this time pretty well completed), the attendance on our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal

transactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the Gloucester at an anchor in the bay. And then captain Mitchel, waiting on the commodore, informed him that he had been forced by the winds, in his last absence, as far as the small island called Masa-Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandes; and that he endeavoured to send his boat on shore at this place for water, of which he could observe several streams, but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether useless, as they returned with a boat-load of fish. This island had been represented by former navigators as a barren rock; but captain Mitchel assured the commodore, that it was almost every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added, that it appeared to him far from impossible, that some small bay might be found on it, which might afford sufficient shelter for any ship desirous of refreshing there.

As four ships of our squadron were missing, this description of the island of Masa-Fuero gave rise to a conjecture, that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and have mistaken it for the true place of our rendezvous; and this suspicion was the more plausible, as we had no draught of either island that could be relied on. In consequence of this reasoning, Mr. Anson determined to send the Trial sloop thither, as soon as she could be fitted for the sea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be satisfied whether any of our missing ships were there or not. For this purpose, some of our best hands were sent on board the Trial the next morning, to overhale and fix her rigging; and our long-boat was employed in completing her water; and whatever stores and necessaries she wanted, were immediately supplied, either from the Centurion or the Gloucester. But it was the 4th of

August before the Trial was in readiness to sail, when having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore: Captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired several guns to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were sent to his relief, who towed the sloop into the bay; where she anchored until the next morning, and then, weighing again, and proceeded on her cruize with a fair breeze.

And now, after the Gloucester's arrival, we were employed in earnest in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the stripping our foremast, we were alarmed by discovering it was sprung just above the partners of the upper deck. The spring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; but the carpenters inspecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fishing it with two leaves of an anchor stock, would render it as secure as ever. But our greatest difficulty in refitting was the want of cordage and canvass; for though we had taken to sea much greater quantities of both than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with had occasioned such a consumption of these stores, that we were driven to great straits: for after working up all our junk and old shrouds, to make twice-laid cordage, we were at last obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging. And with all the canvass, and remnants of old sails that could be mustered, we could only make up one complete suit.

Towards the middle of August, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their sick tents, and to build separate huts for themselves, as it was imagined that by living apart they would be much cleanlier, and consequently likely to recover their strength the sooner; but at the same time particular orders were given, that, on the firing of a gun from the ship, they should instantly repair to the water-side. Their employment on shore was now either the procuring of refreshments, the cutting

of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the sea-lions. This oil served us for several uses; as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ships sides, or, when mixed with wood ashes, to supply the use of tallow, of which we had none left, to give the ship boot-hose tops. Some of the men too were occupied in salting of cod; for there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the Centurion, the commodore made use of them in laying in a considerable quantity of salted cod for a sea store; but very little of it was made use of, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the scurvy, as any other kind of salt provisions.

I have before-mentioned, that we had a copper oven on shore to bake bread for the sick; but it happened that the greatest part of the flour, for the use of the squadron, was embarked on board our victualler the Anna pink: and I should have mentioned, that the Trial sloop, at her arrival, had informed us, that on the 9th of May she had fallen in with our victualler, not far distant from the continent of Chili; and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This gave us some room to hope that she was safe, and that she might join us; but all June and July being past without any news of her, we suspected she was lost; and at the end of July the commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. And it was not in our bread only, that we feared a deficiency; for since our arrival at this island, we discovered that our former purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions, which the commodore had expressly ordered him to receive; so that the supposed loss of our victualler, was on all accounts a mortifying consideration. However, on Sunday the 16th of August, about noon, we espied a sail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion, to call off the people from shore,

CUMBERLAND BAY, IN THE ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDES.

who readily obeyed the summons, and repaired to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And now, being prepared for the reception of this ship in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various speculations about her: at first, many imagined it to be the Trial sloop returned from her cruize; but as she drew nearer this opinion was confuted, by observing she was a vessel with three masts; and then other conjectures were eagerly canvassed, some judging it to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and several affirming that it did not belong to our squadron: but about three in the afternoon our disputes were ended, by an unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler the Anna pink. This ship, though, like the Gloucester, she had fallen in to the northward of the island, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the sincerest joy; for each ship's company was now restored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short, before we could reach some amicable port; a calamity which in these seas is of all others the most irretrievable. This was the last ship that joined us; and the dangers she encountered, and the good fortune which she afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a separate narration, I shall refer them, together with a short account of the other ships of the squadron, to the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. VII.

A short Narrative of what befel the Anna Pink before she joined us, with an Account of the Loss of the Wager, and of the putting back of the Severn and Pearl, the two remaining Ships of the Squadron.

On the first appearance of the Anna pink, it seemed wonderful to us how the crew of a vessel, which came to this rendezvous two months after

us, should be capable of working their ship in the manner they did, with so little appearance of debility and distress: but this difficulty was soon solved when she came to an anchor; for we then found, that they had been in harbour since the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandes: so that their sufferings (the risk they had run of shipwreck only excepted) were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron. It seems that, on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues distant, in the latitude of 45° 15′ south. On the first sight of it they wore ship and stood to the southward, but their fore top-sail splitting, and the wind being W.S.W. they drove towards the shore; and the captain at last, either unable to clear the land, or, as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered for the coast, with a view of discovering some shelter amongst the many islands which then appeared in sight: and about four hours after the first view of the land, the pink had the good fortune to come to an anchor to the eastward of the island of Inchin; but as they did not run sufficiently near to the east shore of that island, and had not hands to veer away the cable briskly, they were soon driven to the eastward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathom to thirty-five; and still continuing to drive, they the next day, the 17th of May, let go their sheet anchor, which, though it brought them up for a short time, yet on the 18th they drove again, till they came into sixty-five fathom water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on shore every moment in a place where the coast was very high, and so steep that there was not the least prospect of saving the ship or cargo, and their boats being very leaky, and there being no appearance of a landing place, the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves over for lost, for they apprehended that

if any of them by some extraordinary chance should get on shore, they would, in all probability, be massacred by the savages on the coast: for these, knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all strangers with the same cruelty which they had so often and so signally exerted against their Spanish neighbours. Under these terrifying circumstances the pink drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the shore; but at last, when the crew expected each instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and the main, which led them into a most excellent harbour, which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its waters, may perhaps compare with any in the known world. And this place being scarcely two miles distant from the spot where they deemed their destruction inevitable, the horrors of shipwreck and of immediate death, which had so long and so strongly possessed them, vanished almost instantaneously, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of security, repose, and refreshment.

In this harbour, discovered in this most miraculous manner, the pink came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, with only a hawser, and a small anchor of about three hundred weight: and here she continued for near two months, refreshing her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, but were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions, of which they procured good store, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded. But as this place may prove of the greatest importance to future navigators, who may be forced upon this coast by the westerly winds, which are almost perpetual in that part of the world, I shall, before I enter into any further particulars of the adventures of the pink,

give the best account I could collect of this port, its situation, conveniencies, and productions.

To facilitate the knowledge of this place to those who may hereafter be desirous of making use of it, there is annexed a plan both of the harbour itself, and of the large bay before it, through which the pink drove. This plan is not perhaps in all respects so accurate as might be wished, it being composed from the memorandums and rude sketches of the master and surgeon, who were not, I presume, the ablest draughtsmen. But as the principal parts were laid down by their estimated distances from each other, in which kind of estimations it is well known the greatest part of sailors are very dexterous, I suppose the errors are not very considerable. Its latitude, which is indeed an important point, is not well ascertained, the pink having no observation either the day before she came here, or within a day of her leaving it: but it is supposed that it is not very distant from 45° 30′ south, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour renders this uncertainty the less material. The island of Inchin lying before the bay is supposed to be one of the islands of Chonos, which are mentioned in the Spanish accounts as spreading all along that coast; and are said by them to be inhabited by a barbarous people, famous for their hatred of the Spaniards, and for their cruelties to such of that nation as have fallen into their hands: and it is possible too that the land near which the harbour itself lies, may be another of those islands, and that the continent may be considerably further to the eastward. The depths of water in the different parts of the port, and the channels by which it communicates with the bay, are sufficiently marked in the plan. But it must be remembered that there are two coves in it where ships may conveniently heave down, the water being constantly smooth: and there are several fine runs of excellent fresh water, which

fall into the harbour, and some of them so luckily situated that the casks may be filled in the long-boat with a hose: the most remarkable of these runs is the stream marked in the N. E. part of the port. This is a fresh water river, and here the pink's people got some few mullets of an excellent flavour; and they were persuaded that, in a proper season, it being winter when they were there, it abounded with fish. The principal refreshments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, &c. which after so long a continuance at sea they devoured with great eagerness, shell-fish, as cockles and muscles of an extraordinary size, and extremely delicious; and good store of geese, shags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous, nor the trees and the face of the country destitute of verdure; and doubtless in the summer many other species of fresh provision, besides these here enumerated, might be found there. And, notwithstanding the tales of the Spanish historians, in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it doth not appear that their numbers are sufficient to give the least jealousy to any ship of ordinary force, or that their disposition is by any means so mischievous or merciless as hath hitherto been represented: and besides all these advantages, it is so far removed from the Spanish frontier, and so little known to the Spaniards themselves, that there is reason to suppose, that with proper precautions a ship might continue here undiscovered for a long time. It is also a place of great defence; for by possessing the island that closes up the harbour, and which is accessible in very few places, a small force might defend this port against all the strength the Spaniards could muster in that part of the world; for this island towards the harbour is steep to, and has six fathom water close to the shore, so that the pink anchored within forty yards of it; whence it is obvious how impossible it would prove either to board or to cut

out any vessel protected by a force posted on shore within pistol-shot, and where those who were thus posted could not themselves be attacked. All these circumstances seem to render this place worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped that the important uses which this rude account of it seems to suggest, may hereafter recommend it to the consideration of the public, and to the attention of those who are more immediately entrusted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this description of the place where the pink lay for two months, it may be expected that I should relate the discoveries made by the crew on the adjacent coast, and the principal incidents during their stay there: but here I must observe that, being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on distant discoveries; for they were perpetually terrified with the apprehension that they should be attacked either by the Spaniards or the Indians; so that their excursions were generally confined to that tract of land which surrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ship. But even had they at first known how little foundation there was for these fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was so grown up with wood, and traversed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it: so that no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who had represented this coast as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people: for they were certain that no such inhabitants were there to be found, at least during the winter season; since all the time they continued there, they saw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a periagua, about a month after the arrival of the pink, and consisted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age, and the other still at the breast. They seemed to have with them all

their property, which was a dog and a cat, a fishing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue and a very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. The master of the pink, as soon as he perceived them, sent his yawl, who brought them on board; and fearing, lest they might discover him if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of ill usage or violence: for in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleased about the ship, but at night were locked up in the fore-castle. As they were fed in the same manner with the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not at first appear that they were much dissatisfied with their situation, especially as the master took the Indian on shore when he went a shooting, who always seemed extremely delighted when the master killed his game, and as all the crew treated them with great humanity: but it was soon perceived, that though the woman continued easy and cheerful, yet the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He seemed to be a person of good natural parts, and though not capable of conversing with the pink's people, otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive, and showed great dexterity in the manner of making himself understood. In particular, seeing so few people on board such a large ship, he let them know that he supposed they were once more numerous: and to represent to them what he imagined was become of their companions, he laid himself down on the deck, closing his eyes, and stretching himself out motionless, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the strongest proof of his sagacity was the manner of his getting away; for after being in custody on board the pink eight days, the scuttle of the fore-castle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be

unnailed, and the following night, being extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl; and to prevent being pursued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing a-stern, and immediately rowed ashore. All this he conducted with so much diligence and secrecy, that though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, yet he was not discovered by them, till the noise of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ship, gave them notice of his escape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or to pursue him; for their boats being all adrift, it was a considerable time before they could contrive the means of getting on shore themselves to search for their boats. The Indian too by this effort, besides the recovery of his liberty, was in some sort revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loss of their boats, and by the terror he threw them into at his departure; for on the first alarm of the watch, who cried out, 'the Indians,' the whole ship was in the utmost confusion, believing themselves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

The resolution and sagacity with which the Indian behaved upon this occasion, had it been exerted on a more extensive object than the retrieving the freedom of a single family, might perhaps have immortalized the exploit, and have given him a rank amongst the illustrious names of antiquity. Indeed his late masters did so much justice to his merit, as to own that it was a most gallant enterprise, and that they were grieved they had ever been necessitated, by their attention to their own safety, to abridge the liberty of a person, of whose prudence and courage they had now such a distinguished proof. And as it was supposed by some of them that he still continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might suffer for want of provisions,

they easily prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food, as they thought would be most agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: and there was reason to conjecture that this piece of humanity was not altogether useless to him; for, on visiting the place some time after, it was found that the provision was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But, however, though many of them were satisfied that this Indian still continued near them; yet others would needs conclude that he was gone to the island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprise the pink: and on this occasion the master of the pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it must be remembered, (and there is a particular reason hereafter for attending to this circumstance) that the master, from an ostentatious imitation of the practice of men of war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the setting of the watch. This he pretended was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the pink was always on her guard; but it being now represented to him that his great security was his concealment, and that the evening gun might possibly discover him, and serve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on, as has been mentioned, to omit it for the future: and his crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he, in a few days after the escape of the Indian, put to sea, and had a fortunate passage to the rendezvous at the island of Juan Fernandes, where he arrived on the 16th of August, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter.

The Anna pink was the last that joined the commodore at Juan Fernandes. The remaining ships of the squadron were, the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The Severn and Pearl parted

company with the squadron off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the Brazils: so that of all the ships which came into the South Seas, the Wager, captain Cheap, was the only one that was missing. This ship had on board some field-pieces mounted for land service, together with some coehorn mortars, and several kinds of artillery stores and tools, intended for the operations on shore: and therefore, as the enterprise on Baldivia had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, captain Cheap was extremely solicitous that these materials, which were in his custody, might be ready before Baldivia; that if the squadron should possibly rendezvous there, as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to, no delay or disappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilst the Wager, with these views, was making the best of her way to her first rendezvous off the island of Socoro, whence, as there was little probability of meeting any of the squadron there, she proposed to steer directly for Baldivia, she made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of 47° south; and the captain exerting himself on this occasion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and thereby dislocated his shoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land, so that the next morning, at day-break, she struck on a sunken rock, and soon after bilged, and grounded between two small islands, at about a musquet-shot from the shore.

In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew had it in their power to get safe on shore; but a general confusion taking place, numbers of them, instead of consulting their safety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to

pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose them. This phrensy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got so extremely drunk, that some of them tumbling down between decks were drowned, as the water flowed in, being incapable of getting up and retreating to other places where the water had not yet entered: and the captain, having done his utmost to get the whole crew on shore, was at last obliged to leave these mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and such as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to send back the boats, to persaude those who remained, to have some regard to their preservation; though all his efforts were for some time without success. However, the weather next day proving stormy, and there being great danger of the ship's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land; but it seems their madness had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they at last pointed a four-pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, against the hut where they knew the captain resided on shore, and fired two shot which passed but just over it.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame some conjecture of the disorder and anarchy which took place, when they at last got all on shore. For the men conceived that, by the loss of the ship, the authority of the officers was at an end; and they being now on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got, except what should be saved out of the wreck, this was an insurmountable source of discord: for, as the working upon the wreck, and the securing the provisions, so that they might be preserved for future exigencies as much as possible, and the taking care that what was necessary for immediate subsistence might be sparingly and equally distributed, were

matters not to be brought about but by discipline and subordination; the mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the impulses of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpose ineffectual: so that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man against his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and contests. And hence there was constantly kept on foot a perverse and malevolent turn of temper, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

But besides these heart-burnings occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain. This was their differing with him in opinion, on the measures to be pursued in the present exigency: for the captain was determined, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. For having with him above an hundred men in health, and having gotten some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could master any Spanish vessel they should meet with in those seas: and he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandes; and he further insisted, that should they meet with no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would easily carry them there. But this was a scheme that, however prudent, was no ways relished by the generality of his people; for, being quite jaded with the distresses and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of prosecuting an enterprise further, which had hitherto proved so disastrous: and therefore the common resolution was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the rest of the boats to steer to the southward, to pass through the Streights of Magellan, and to range along the east side of South America, till they should arrive at

Brazil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a passage to Great Britain. This project was at first sight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was proposed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, this circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniencies, and made them adhere to it with insurmountable obstinacy; so that the captain himself, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquiesce in this resolution, whilst he endeavoured under-hand to give it all the obstruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived should be of such a size, that though it might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of so long a navigation as that to the coast of Brazil.

But the captain, by his steady opposition at first to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him; to which likewise the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midshipman whose name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himself with great abuse and insolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the least doubted, but that there were some violent measures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader: for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly kept themselves on their guard. But at last the purser having, by the captain's order, stopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great eagerness; and grossly

insulting the purser, who was then delivering out provisions just by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent, the purser, enraged by his scurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out 'a mutiny,' adding, that the dog had pistols, and then himself fired a pistol at Cozens, which however mist him: but the captain, on this outcry and the report of the pistol, rushed out of his tent; and, not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately shot him in the head without further deliberation; and though he did not kill him on the spot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

This incident, however displeasing to the people, did yet, for a considerable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority; but at last, when towards the middle of October the long-boat was nearly completed, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation he gave them by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might at length engage a party sufficient to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to make use of the death of Cozens as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England, to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander should be present to confront them: and therefore, when they were just ready to put to sea, they set him at liberty, leaving him and the few who chose to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ship was wrecked, there remained alive on board the Wager near a hundred and thirty persons;

of these above thirty died during their stay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the southward: so that there remained with the captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen persons, which however was as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed, and stood to the southward, giving the captain, who, with lieutenant Hamilton of the land-forces and the surgeon, was then on the beach, three cheers at their departure. It was the 29th of January following before they arrived at Rio Grande, on the coast of Brazil: and having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having perished by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them left when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking of itself was a most extraordinary one; for, not to mention the length of the run, the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provisions, being only what they had saved out of the ship, was extremely slender; and the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern, and was stayed to pieces; so that when their provision and their water failed them they had frequently no means of getting on shore to search for a fresh supply.

When the long-boat and cutter were gone, the captain, and those who were left with him, proposed to pass to the northward in the barge and yawl: but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months after the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to sea. It seems that the place where the Wager was cast away was not a part of the continent, as was first imagined, but an island at some distance from the main, which

afforded no other sort of provision than shellfish, and a few herbs; and as the greatest part of what they had gotten from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in great necessity, especially as they chose to preserve what little sea-provisions remained, for their store when they should go to the northward. During their residence at this island, which was by the seamen denominated Wager's Island, they had now and then a straggling canoe or two of Indians, which came and bartered their fish and other provisions with our people. This was indeed some little succour, and at another season might perhaps have been greater; for as there were several Indian huts on the shore, it was supposed that in some years, during the height of summer, many of these savages might resort thither to fish: and from what has been related in the account of the Anna pink, it should seem to be the general practice of those Indians to frequent this coast in the summer time for the benefit of fishing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate, more to the northward.

And on this mention of the Anna pink, I cannot but observe, how much it is to be lamented that the Wager's people had no knowledge of her being so near them on the coast; for as she was not above thirty leagues distant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the same time the Wager was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandes. Indeed, I suspect she was still nearer to them than what is here estimated; for several of the Wager's people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which I conceive could be no other than the evening gun fired from the Anna pink, especially as what was heard at Wager's Island was about the same time of the day. But to return to captain Cheap.

Upon the 14th of December, the captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order

to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high, that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions over-board, to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food is so difficult to be got: however, they still persisted in their design, putting on shore as often as they could to seek subsistence. But about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befel them, for the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. But they still kept on their course to the northward, struggling with their disasters, and greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned: till at last, about the end of January, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a head-land, which they supposed to be what the Spaniards called Cape Tres Montes, it was unanimously resolved to give over this expedition, the difficulties of which appeared insuperable, and to return again to Wager Island, where they got back about the middle of February, quite disheartened and dejected with their reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return they had the good luck to meet with several pieces of beef, which had been washed out of the ship, and were swimming in the sea. This was a most seasonable relief to them after the hardships they had endured. And to complete their good fortune, there came, in a short time, two canoes of Indians, amongst which was a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish; and the surgeon,

who was with captain Cheap, understanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge, he should have her, and all that belonged to her for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven persons, to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but after having proceeded for a few days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on shore, the six, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to sea, and did not return.

By this means there were left on shore captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, lieutenant of marines, the honourable Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbel, midshipmen, and Mr. Elliot the surgeon. One would have thought that their distresses had long before this time been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflection, that their present situation was much more dismaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast without any provision, or the means of procuring any; for their arms, ammunition, and every conveniency they were masters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had sufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumstances of this unexpected calamity, and were persuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian, who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them; for it seems he had left captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a fishing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. But when he came on shore, and found the barge gone and his companion missing, he was extremely concerned, and could with

difficulty be persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered; but, being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and (as the Indians are well skilled in fishing and fowling) to procure them provisions by the way.

About the middle of March, captain Cheap and the four who were left with him set out for Chiloe, the Indian having procured a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpose. Soon after they embarked, Mr. Elliot the surgeon died, so that there now remained only four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage by land and water, captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbel, arrived in the beginning of June at the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but, on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr. Hamilton did not get thither till two months after. Thus, above a twelvemonth after the loss of the Wager, ended this fatiguing peregrination, which by a variety of misfortunes had diminished the company from twenty to no more than four, and those too brought so low, that, had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have survived. For the captain himself was with difficulty recovered; and the rest were so reduced by the severity of the weather, their labour, and their want of all kinds of necessaries, that it was wonderful how they supported themselves so long. After some stay at Chiloe, the captain and the three who were with him were sent to Valparaiso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year: but on the advice of a cartel being settled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship. The other midshipman, Mr. Campbel, having changed his religion whilst at St. Jago, chose to go back to

Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to Spain on board the Asia; and there having failed in his endeavours to procure a commission from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinstated in the British navy; and has since published a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injustice that had been done him, and strongly disavows his ever being in the Spanish service: but as the change of his religion, and his offering himself to the court of Spain, (though not accepted) are matters which, he is conscious, are capable of being incontestibly proved; on these two heads, he has been entirely silent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the Anna pink, and the catastrophe of the Wager, I shall again resume the thread of our own story.

CHAP. VIII.

Conclusion of our Proceedings at Juan Fernandes, from the Arrival of the Anna Pink, to our final Departure from thence.

In the beginning of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now, the time of navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted ourselves in getting our ships in readiness for the sea. We converted the fore-mast of the victualler into a main-mast for the Trial sloop; and still flattering ourselves with the possibility of the arrival of some other ships of our squadron, we intended to leave the main-mast of the victualler to make a mizen-mast for the Wager. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, espied a sail to the N.E., which continued to approach us, till her

courses appeared even with the horizon. In this interval we all had hopes she might prove one of our own squadron; but at length finding she steered away to the eastward, without haling in for the island, we concluded she must be a Spaniard. And now great disputes were set on foot about the possibility of her having discovered our tents on shore, some of us strongly insisting, that she had doubtless been near enough to have perceived something that had given her a jealousy of an enemy, which had occasioned her standing to the eastward without haling in; but leaving these contests to be settled afterwards, it was resolved to pursue her, and, the Centurion being in the greatest forwardness, we immediately got all our hands on board, set up our rigging, bent our sails, and by five in the afternoon got under sail. We had at this time very little wind, so that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flatted to a calm. The night coming on we lost sight of the chase, and were extremely impatient for the return of day-light, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed as well as we; though I must confess, that her greater distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no sight of the ship from the mast-head. But as we were now satisfied that it was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the search lightly; and, a small breeze springing up from the W.N.W. we got up our top-gallant masts and yards, set all the sails, and steered to the S.E., in hopes of retrieving our chase, which we imagined to be bound to Valparaiso. We continued on this course all that day and the next, and then not getting sight of our chase we gave over the pursuit, conceiving that by that time she must, in all

probability, have reached her port. And now we prepared to return to Juan Fernandes, and haled up to the S.W. with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there sprang up a fresh gale from the W.S.W., and we tacked and stood to the N.W.: and at day-break we were agreeably surprised with the sight of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant. On this we crowded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chase to. She at first bore down upon us, showing Spanish colours, and making a signal as to her consort; but observing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly loofed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great alacrity; and as the chase appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man of war, and probably one of Pizarro's squadron *. This induced the commodore to order all the officers' cabins to be knocked down and thrown over-board, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns; so that we had soon a clear ship, ready for an engagement. About nine o'clock we had thick hazy weather and a shower of rain, during which we lost sight of the chase; and we were apprehensive, if the weather should continue, that by going upon the other tack, or by some other artifice, she might escape us; but it clearing up in less than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and forereached upon her considerably, and now we were near enough to discover that she was only a merchantman, without so much as a single tire of guns. About half an hour after twelve, being then within a reasonable distance of her, we fired four shot amongst her rigging; on which they lowered their top-sails, and

* See the end for an account of this squadron.

bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant sails and stay-sails all fluttering in the wind. This was owing to their having let run their sheets and halyards just as we fired at them; after which, not a man amongst them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the shot had passed but just before) to take them in. As soon as the vessel came within hail of us, the commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoisted out the boat, and sent Mr. Saumarez, his first lieutenant, to take possession of the prize, with directions to send all the prisoners on board the Centurion, but first the officers and passengers. When Mr. Saumarez came on board them, they received him at the side with the strongest tokens of the most abject submission; for they were all of them (especially the passengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage; but the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courtesy, to dissipate their fright, assuring them that their fears were altogether groundless, and that they would find a generous enemy in the commodore, who was not less remarkable for his lenity and humanity, than for his resolution and courage. The prisoners, who were first sent on board the Centurion, informed us, that our prize was called Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo, and was commanded by don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our English coarse broad-cloths, but inferior to them. They had besides several bales of a coarser sort of cloth, of different colours, somewhat like Colchester bays, called by them Pannia da Tierra, with a few bales of cotton and tobacco; which, though strong, was not ill flavoured. These were the principal goods on board her; but we found besides, what was to us much more valuable than the rest of the cargo: this was some trunks of wrought

plate, and twenty-three serons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200lbs. avoirdupois. The ship's burthen was about four hundred and fifty tons; she had fifty-three sailors on board, both whites and blacks; she came from Callao, and had been twenty-seven days at sea, before she fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of Valparaiso in the kingdom of Chili, and proposed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which at Callao they convert into larger rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they esteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewise her sails, which were made of cotton. She had only three four-pounders, which were altogether unserviceable, their carriages being scarcely able to support them: and there were no small arms on board, except a few pistols belonging to the passengers. The prisoners informed us that they left Callao in company with two other ships, whom they had parted with some days before, and that at first they conceived us to be one of their company; and by the description we gave them of the ship we had chased from Juan Fernandes, they assured us she was of their number, but that the coming in sight of that island was directly repugnant to the merchant's instructions, who had expressly forbid it, as knowing that if any English squadron was in those seas, the island of Fernandes was most probably the place of their rendezvous.

And now, after this short account of the ship and her cargo, it is necessary that I should relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the prisoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here first learnt with certainty the force and destination of that squadron, which cruised off the Maderas at our arrival there, and afterwards

chased the Pearl in our passage to Port St. Julian. This we now knew was a squadron composed of five large Spanish ships, commanded by admiral Pizarro, and purposely fitted out to traverse our designs, as hath been already more amply related. And we had at the same time the satisfaction to find that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to gain his passage into these seas, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loss of two of his largest ships: and besides this disappointment of Pizarro, which, considering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we further learnt that an embargo had been laid upon all shipping in these seas by the viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, on a supposition that about that time we might arrive upon the coast. But on the account sent over-land by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew we must have encountered, as we were at sea during the same time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to set sail from St. Catherine's, they were fully persuaded that we were either shipwrecked or had perished at sea, or at least had been obliged to put back again; for it was conceived impossible for any ships to continue at sea during so long an interval: and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm persuasion of our having miscarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This last article made us flatter ourselves that, as the enemy was still a stranger to our having got round Cape Horn, and the navigation of these seas was restored, we might meet with some considerable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourselves for the incapacity we were now under of attempting any of their considerable settlements on shore. And thus much we were certain of, from the information of our prisoners, that, whatever our success might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the Spanish force in this part

of the world; though we discovered that we had been in most imminent peril from the enemy when we least apprehended it, and when our other distresses were at the greatest height; for we learnt from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the express he dispatched to the viceroy of Peru, after his return to the river of Plate, had intimated to him, that it was possible some part at least of the English squadron might get round; but that, as he was certain from his own experience that if they did arrive in those seas it must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised the viceroy, in order to be secure at all events, to fit out what ships of force he had, and send them to the southward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us singly, and before we had an opportunity of touching any where for refreshment; in which case he doubted not but we should prove an easy conquest. The viceroy of Peru approved of this advice, and immediately fitted out four ships of force from Callao; one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns: three of them were stationed off the port of Conception, and one of them at the island of Fernandes; and in these stations they continued cruizing for us till the 6th of June; when not seeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impossible that we could have kept the seas so long, they quitted their cruize and returned to Callao, fully satisfied that we had either perished, or at least had been driven back. As the time of their quitting their station was but a few days before our arrival at the island of Fernandes, it is evident that, had we made that island on our first search for it, without haling in for the main to secure our easting, (a circumstance which at that time we considered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we lost by our longer continuance at sea,) had we, I say, made the island on the 28th of May, when we first expected to see it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtless fallen in with some part of the Spanish

squadron; and in the distressed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy well provided enemy was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us, but to the Trial, the Gloucester, and the Anna pink, who separately joined us, and who were each of them less capable than we were of making any considerable resistance. I shall only add, that these Spanish ships sent out to intercept us had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruize; and that after their arrival at Callao they had been laid up. And our prisoners assured us, that whenever intelligence was received at Lima of our being in these seas, it would be at least two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we in our reduced circumstances could wish for. And now we were fully satisfied as to the broken jars, ashes, and fish-bones, which we had observed at our first landing at Juan Fernandes, these things being doubtless the relics of the cruizers stationed off that port. Having thus satisfied ourselves in the material articles, and having gotten on board the Centurion most of the prisoners and all the silver, we, at eight in the same evening, made sail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at six the next morning discovered the island of Fernandes, where, the next day, both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident which occurred when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the rest of the squadron lay. The Spaniards in the Carmelo had been sufficiently informed of the distresses we had gone through, and were greatly surprised that we had ever surmounted them: but when they saw the Trial sloop at anchor, they were still more astonished, that after all our fatigues we had the industry (besides refitting our other ships) to complete such a vessel in so short a time, they taking it for granted that she had been

built upon the spot. And it was with great difficulty they were prevailed on to believe that she came from England with the rest of the squadron; they at first insisting that it was impossible such a bawble as that could pass round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandes, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined: and it appearing from them and from the accounts of our prisoners that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, Mr. Anson dispatched the Trial sloop the very next morning to cruize off the last-mentioned port, reinforcing him with ten hands from on board his own ship. Mr. Anson likewise resolved, on the intelligence recited above, to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruizes, as he thought that by this means we should not only increase our chance for prizes, but that we should likewise run a less risk of alarming the coast, and of being discovered. And now the spirits of our people being greatly raised, and their despondency dissipated by this earnest of success, they forgot all their past distresses and resumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in completing our water, receiving our lumber, and in preparing to take our farewell of the island. But as these occupations took us up four or five days with all our industry, the commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the Anna pink, being four six-pounders, four four-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the Carmelo our prize; and having sent on board the Gloucester six passengers and twenty-three seamen, to assist in navigating the ship, he directed captain Mitchell to leave the island as soon as possible, the service requiring the utmost dispatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees south, and there to cruize off the island of Paita, at such a distance from shore as

should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till he should be joined by the commodore, which would be whenever it should be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on Mr. Anson's receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to unite our strength. These orders being delivered to the captain of the Gloucester, and all our business completed, we, on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed anchor in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of the island of Juan Fernandes, and steering to the eastward, with an intention of joining the Trial sloop in her station off Valparaiso.

CHAP. IX.

Our Cruize from the Time of our leaving Juan Fernandes, to the taking the Town of Paita.

ALTHOUGH the Centurion, with her prize the Carmelo, weighed from the bay of Juan Fernandes on the 19th of September, leaving the Gloucester at anchor behind her; yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22d of the same month in the evening before we lost sight of the island; after which we continued our course to the eastward, in order to reach our station, and to join the Trial off Valparaiso. The next night the weather proved squally, and we split our main-top-sail, which we handed for the present, but got it repaired, and set it again the next morning. And now, on the 24th, a little before sun-set we saw two sail to the eastward, on which our prize stood directly from us, to avoid giving any suspicion of our being cruizers; whilst we, in the mean time, made ourselves ready for an engagement, and steered towards the two ships we had discovered with all

our canvass. We soon perceived that one of these, which had the appearance of being a very stout ship, made directly for us, whilst the other kept at a very great distance. By seven o'clock we were within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broadside ready to pour into her, the gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but as we knew it was now impossible for her to escape us, Mr. Anson, before he permitted them to fire, ordered the master to hail the ship in Spanish, on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. Hughs, lieutenant of the Trial, answered us in English, and informed us that she was a prize taken by the Trial a few days before, and that the other sail at a distance was the Trial herself disabled in her masts. We were soon after joined by the Trial, and captain Saunders her commander came on board the Centurion. He informed the commodore that he had taken this ship the 18th instant; that she was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty-six hours chase, before he could come up with her; that for some time he gained so little upon her, that he began to despair of taking her; and the Spaniards, though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, the Trial's hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the Trial neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and recommending themselves to the blessed Virgin for protection, began to think themselves secure. And indeed their success was very near doing honour to their *Ave Marias*; for, altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping; but a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual; as through this crevice the people on board the Trial perceived a light, which they chased till they arrived within gun-shot;

and then captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadside, when they flattered themselves they were got out of his reach: however, for some time after they still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression on them; but just as the Trial was preparing to repeat her broadside, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about six hundred tons burthen, and was called the Arranzazu. She was bound from Callao to Valparaiso, and had much the same cargo with the Carmelo we had taken before, except that her silver amounted only to about 5000*l.* sterling.

But to balance this success, we had the misfortune to find that the Trial had sprung her main-mast, and that her main-top-mast had come by the board: and as we were all of us standing to the eastward the next morning, with a fresh gale at south, she had the additional ill-luck to spring her foremast so that now she had not a mast left on which she could carry sail. These unhappy incidents were still aggravated by the impossibility we were just then under of assisting her; for the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea, that we could not venture to hoist out our boat, and consequently could have no communication with her, so that we were obliged to lie-to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herself in her present unhappy situation: and as an accumulation to our misfortunes, we were all the while driving to the leeward of our station, at the very time when, by our intelligence, we had reason to expect several of the enemy's ships would appear upon the coast, who would now gain the port of Valparaiso without obstruction. And I am verily persuaded, that the embarrassment we received from the dismasting of the Trial, and our absence from

our intended station occasioned thereby, deprived us of some very considerable captures.

The weather proving somewhat more moderate on the 27th, we sent our boat for the captain of the Trial, who, when he came on board us, produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the sloop, besides being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was necessary to keep the pumps constantly at work, and that they were then scarcely sufficient to keep her free; so that in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increased upon them; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at present so very defective, that if they met with much bad weather they must all inevitably perish; and therefore they petitioned the commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the refitting of the Trial, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that in the present conjuncture greatly exceeded his power; for we had no masts to spare her, we had no stores to complete her rigging, nor had we any port where she might be hove down and her bottom examined; besides, had a port and proper requisites for this purpose been in our possession, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away so much time as would have been necessary for these operations. The commodore therefore had no choice left him but that of taking out her people and destroying her; but at the same time, as he conceived it necessary for his Majesty's service to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the Trial's prize (which had been often employed by the viceroy of Peru as a man of war) to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, manning her with the Trial's crew, and giving new commissions to the captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the Spanish service, had mounted thirty-two

guns; but she was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the Trial, and eight that had belonged to the Anna pink. When this affair was thus far regulated, Mr. Anson gave orders to captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the sloop the arms, stores, ammunition, and every thing that could be of any use to the other ships, and then to scuttle her and sink her. And after captain Saunders had seen her destroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate (to be called the Trial's Prize), and to cruize off the highland of Valparaiso, keeping it from him N.N.W. at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward steer that course, Mr. Anson proposed by this means to stop any intelligence that might be dispatched to Callao of two of their ships being missing: which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The Trial's Prize was to continue on this station twenty-four days, and if not joined by the commodore at the expiration of that term, she was then to proceed down the coast to Pisco or Nasca, where she would be certain to meet with Mr. Anson. The commodore likewise ordered lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, to keep company with captain Saunders, both to assist him in unloading the sloop, and also that by spreading in their cruize there might be less danger of any of the enemy's ships slipping by unobserved. These orders being dispatched, the Centurion parted from them at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her course to the southward, with a view of cruizing for some days to the windward of Valparaiso.

And now, by this disposition of our ships, we flattered ourselves that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we possibly could with our small force, since our disposition was doubtless the most prudent that could be projected. For as we might

suppose the Gloucester by this time to be drawing near her station off the island of Paita, we were enabled by our separate stations to intercept all vessels employed either betwixt Peru and Chili to the southward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward; since the principal trade from Peru to Chili being carried on to the port of Valparaiso, the Centurion, cruizing to the windward of Valparaiso would in all probability meet with them, as it is the constant practice of those ships to fall in with the coast to the windward of that port; and the Gloucester would, in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from Panama or the northward to any part of Peru, since the island off which she was stationed is constantly made by all ships in that voyage. And whilst the Centurion and Gloucester were thus situated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the Trial's Prize and Centurion's prize were as conveniently stationed for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward; for it was on board these vessels that it was to be feared some account of us might possibly be sent to Peru.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never ensure its certainty; since those chances which it was reasonable to overlook in deliberations, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus in the present case, the distress of the Trial, and the quitting our station to assist her (events which no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate), gave an opportunity to all the ships bound to Valparaiso, to reach that port without molestation during this unlucky interval; so that though after leaving captain Saunders we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th at noon, yet, in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort; and then having lost all hopes of making any

advantage by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived on the station appointed for them, we did not meet with them though we continued there four or five days. We supposed that some chase had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the island of Nasca, where captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we arrived on the 21st, and were in great expectation of meeting with some of the enemy's ships on the coast; as both the accounts of former voyages and the information of our prisoners assured us, that all ships bound to Callao constantly make this land to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithstanding the advantages of this station, we saw no sail till the 2d of November, when two ships appeared in sight together: we immediately gave them chase, but soon perceived that they were the Trial's and Centurion's prizes. As they had the wind of us, we brought to and waited their coming up; when captain Saunders came on board us, and acquainted the commodore that he had cleared the Trial pursuant to his orders, and having scuttled her he remained by her till she sunk; but that it was the 4th of October before this was effected, for there ran so large and hollow a sea, that the sloop having neither masts nor sails to steady her, rolled and pitched so violently, that it was impossible for a boat to lay along-side of her for the greatest part of the time: and during this attendance on the sloop they were all driven so far to the north-west, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward to regain the ground they had lost, which was the reason that we had not met with them on their station as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruize than we were, for they had seen no vessel since they separated from us. The little success we all had, and our certainty that

had any ships been stirring in these seas for some time past we must have met with them, made us believe that the enemy at Valparaiso, on the missing of the two ships we had taken, had suspected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had consequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the southern parts. We likewise apprehended that they might by this time be fitting out the men of war at Callao; for we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an express from Valparaiso to reach Lima in twenty-nine or thirty days; and it was now more than fifty since we had taken our first prize. These apprehensions of an embargo along the coast, and of the equipment of the Spanish squadron at Callao, determined the commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join captain Mitchell, (who was stationed off Paita) as soon as possible, that our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to sea. With this view, we bore away the same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore that there might be no danger of our being discovered from thence; for we knew that all the country ships were commanded under the severest penalty not to sail by the port of Callao without stopping; and as this order was constantly complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were seen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the Spanish squadron in our route, the commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now standing to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the small island called St. Gallan, which bore from us N. N. E. ½ E. about seven leagues distant. This island lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees south, and about five miles to the northward of an island called Morro Veijo, or the Old Man's Head. I mention this

island, and the island near it, more particularly, because between them is the most eligible station on that coast for cruizing upon the enemy; as all ships bound to Callao, whether from the northward or the southward, run well in with the land in this part. By the 5th of November, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the highland of Barranca, lying in the latitude of 10° 36′ south, bearing from us N. E. by E. distant eight or nine leagues; and an hour and a half afterwards we had the satisfaction we had so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She first appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chase; but the Centurion so much outsailed the two prizes, that we soon ran them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase; however, night coming on before we came up with her, we, about seven o'clock, lost sight of her, and were in some perplexity what course to steer; but at last Mr. Anson resolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his sails set, and not to change his course; for though we had no doubt but the chase would alter her course in the night, yet, as it was uncertain what tack she would go upon, it was thought more prudent to keep on our course, as we must by this means unavoidably near her, than to change it on conjecture; when, if we should mistake, we must infallibly lose her. Thus then we continued the chase about an hour and a half in the dark, some one or other on board us constantly imagining they discerned her sails right a-head of us; but at last Mr. Brett, then our second lieutenant, did really discover her about four points on the larboard-bow, steering off to the seaward: we immediately clapped the helm a-weather, and stood for her; and in less than an hour came up with her; and having fired fourteen shot at her, she struck. Our third lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, was sent in the boat with sixteen men to take possession of the prize, and to

return the prisoners to our ship. This ship was named the Santa Teresa de Jesus, built at Guaiaquil, of about three hundred tons burthen, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayer: she was bound from Guaiaquil to Callao: her loading consisted of timber, cocoa, cocoanuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread, (which is very strong, and is made of a species of grass,) Quito cloth, wax, &c. The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than 170*l.* sterling. It is true her cargo was of great value, could we have disposed of it; but the Spaniards having strict orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods we took in these seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourselves, it was some satisfaction to us, to consider that it was so much really lost to the enemy, and that the despoiling them was no contemptible branch of that service in which we were now employed by our country.

Besides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spanish parents, and three black female slaves that attended them. The women were, a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the Buccaneers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions too, were, in the present instance, exaggerated by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors that had not seen a woman for

near a twelvemonth. Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves when our officer went on board; and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light; however, he soon satisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and his assurances of their future security and honourable treatment, they had nothing to fear. And the commodore being informed of the matter, sent directions that they should be continued on board their own ship, with the use of the same apartments, and with all the other conveniencies they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that they should receive no kind of inquietude or molestation whatever: and that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or of complaining if they were not, the commodore permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as their guardian and protector. He was particularly chosen for this purpose by Mr. Anson, as he seemed to be extremely interested in all that concerned the women, and had at first declared that he was married to the youngest of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the rest of the prisoners and other circumstances, that he had asserted this with a view, the better to secure them from the insults they expected on their first falling into our hands. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us, as I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before observed, that at the beginning of this chase the Centurion ran her two consorts out of sight, for which reason we lay by all the night, after we had taken the prize, for captain Saunders and lieutenant Saumarez to join us, firing guns, and

making false fires every half hour, to prevent their passing us unobserved; but they were so far a-stern that they neither heard nor saw any of our signals, and were not able to come up with us till broad day-light. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea for many miles round us of a beautiful red colour: this, upon examination, we imputed to an immense quantity of spawn spread upon its surface; and taking some water in a wine glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. And now, having a supply of timber on board our new prize, the commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a swivel gun stock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnance, in order to increase their force, in case we should be obliged to have recourse to them for boarding ships, or for any attempts on shore.

As we stood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though we spread our ships in such a manner that it was not probable any vessel of the enemy could escape us. In our run along this coast, we generally observed that there was a current which set us to the northward at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees of south latitude, we began to be attended with vast numbers of flying fish and bonitos, which were the first we saw after our departure from the coast of Brazil. But it is remarkable, that on the east side of South America they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the west side; for we did not lose them on the coast of Brazil till we approached the southern tropic. The reason for this diversity is doubtless the different degrees of heat obtaining in the same latitude on different sides of that continent. And on this occasion I must beg leave to make a short digression on the heat and cold

of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the same place in different parts of the year, and in different places lying in the same degree of latitude.

The ancients, as appears in many places, conceived that of the five zones into which they divided the surface of the globe, two only were habitable, supposing that all between the tropics was too hot, and all within the polar circle too cold to be supported by mankind. The falsehood of this reasoning has been long evinced; but the particular comparisons of the heat and cold of these various climates has as yet been very imperfectly considered. However, enough is known safely to determine this position, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hottest on the globe, as many of those within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold to which their situation should seem to subject them; that is to say, in other words, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumstances, than upon its distance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This proposition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this sense it cannot be denied, but that the city of London, for instance, enjoys much warmer seasons than the bottom of Hudson's Bay, which is nearly in the same latitude with it; for there the severity of the winter is so great, that it will scarcely permit the hardiest of our garden plants to live. And if the comparison be made between the coast of Brazil and the western shore of South America, as, for example, betwixt Bahia and Lima, the difference will be still more remarkable; for though the coast of Brazil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South-Seas in the same latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; since in ranging along it, we did not once meet with so warm weather as is frequent in a summer's day in England: and this

was the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refresh and cool the air.

The causes of this temperature in the South-Seas are not difficult to be assigned, and shall be hereafter mentioned. I am now only solicitous to establish the truth of this assertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule whereby to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this position might be more briefly confirmed, by observing, that on the tops of the Andes, though under the equinoctial, the snow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold, stronger than what is known to take place in many parts far removed within the polar circle.

I have hitherto considered the temperature of the air all the year through, and the gross estimations of heat and cold which every one makes from his own sensation. If this matter be examined by means of thermometers, which in respect to the absolute degree of heat and cold are doubtless the most unerring evidences; if this be done, the result will be indeed most wonderful: for it will appear that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Petersburgh for instance, is at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto observed between the tropics; and that even at London, in the year 1746, there was the part of one day considerably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ship of Mr. Anson's squadron in running from hence to Cape Horn and back again, and passing twice under the sun; for in the summer of that year the thermometer in London (being one of those graduated according to the method of Fahrenheit) stood once at 78°; and the greatest height at which a thermometer of the same kind stood in the foregoing ship I find to be 76°; this was at St. Catherine's, in the latter end of December, when the sun was within about three degrees of the vertex. And as to Petersburgh, I find, by the acts of the academy established there, that in the year 1734, on

the 20th and 25th of July, the thermometer rose to 98° in the shade; that is, it was twenty-two divisions higher than it was found to be at St. Catherine's; which is a degree of heat that, were it not authorised by the regularity and circumspection with which the observations seem to have been made, would appear altogether incredible.

If it should be asked, how it comes to pass then, that the heat in many places between the tropics is esteemed so violent and insufferable, when it appears by these instances that it is sometimes rivalled or exceeded in very high latitudes not far from the polar circle, I should answer, that the estimation of heat in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that degree of heat which may now and then obtain there, but is rather to be deduced from the medium observed in a whole season, or perhaps in a whole year; and in this light it will easily appear how much more intense the same degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For instance, in comparing together St. Catherine's and Petersburgh, we will suppose the summer heat at St. Catherine's to be 76°, and the winter heat to be twenty divisions short of it: I do not make use of this last conjecture upon sufficient observation, but I am apt to suspect that the allowance is full large. Upon this supposition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66°; and this perhaps by night as well as day, with no great variation: now those who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would by the generality of mankind be styled violent and suffocating. But now at Petersburgh, though a few times in the year the heat, by the thermometer, may be considerably greater than at St. Catherine's, yet, as at other times the cold is immensely sharper, the medium for a year, or even for one season only, would be far short of 66°. For I find that the varia-

tion of the thermometer at Petersburgh is at least five times greater, from its highest to its lowest point, than what I have supposed to take place at St. Catherine's.

But besides this estimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a considerable time together, there is another circumstance which will still augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates and diminish that of the colder, though I do not remember to have seen it remarked in any author. To explain myself more distinctly upon this head, I must observe, that the measure of absolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the sensation of heat, with which human bodies are affected: for as the presence and perpetual succession of fresh air is necessary for our respiration, so there is a species of tainted or stagnated air, which is often produced by the continuance of great heats, which never fails to excite in us an idea of sultriness and suffocating warmth, much beyond what the mere heat of the air alone, supposing it pure and agitated, would occasion. Hence it follows that the mere inspection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cause; and hence it follows too, that the heat in most places between the tropics must be much more troublesome and uneasy than the same degree of absolute heat in a high latitude: for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of steams and vapours from the soil and water, and these being many of them of an impure and noxious kind, and being not easily removed, by reason of the regularity of the winds in those parts, which only shift the exhalations from place to place, without dispersing them, the atmosphere is by this means rendered less proper for respiration, and mankind are consequently affected with what they style a most intense and stifling heat: whereas in the higher latitudes these

vapours are probably raised in smaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently disperse them; so that, the air being in general pure and less stagnant, the same degree of absolute heat is not attended with that uneasy and suffocating sensation. This may suffice in general with respect to the present speculation; but I cannot help wishing, as it is a subject in which mankind, especially travellers of all sorts, are very much interested, that it were more thoroughly and accurately examined, and that all ships bound to the warmer climates would furnish themselves with thermometers of a known fabric, and would observe them daily, and register their observations: for considering the turn to philosophical subjects which has obtained in Europe for the last fourscore years, it is incredible how very rarely any thing of this kind hath been attended to. For my own part, I do not recollect that I have ever seen any observations of the heat and cold, either in the East or West Indies, which were made by mariners or officers of vessels, except those made by Mr. Anson's order on board the Centurion, and by captain Leg on board the Severn, which was another ship of our squadron.

This digression I have been in some measure drawn into, by the consideration of the fine weather we met with on the coast of Peru, even under the equinoctial itself; but the particularities of this weather I have not yet described. I shall now therefore add, that in this climate every circumstance concurred that could render the open air and the daylight desirable. For in other countries the scorching heat of the sun in summer renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amusement; and the frequent rains are not less troublesome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the sun rarely appears: not that the heavens have at any time a dark and gloomy look; but there is constantly a cheerful gray sky, just sufficient to

screen the sun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obscuring the air, or tingeing the day-light with an unpleasant or melancholy hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise abroad; nor is there wanting that refreshment and pleasing refrigeration of the air, which is sometimes produced in other climates by rains for here the same effect is brought about, by the fresh breezes from the cooler regions to the southward. It is reasonable to suppose that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of those vast hills called the Andes, which running nearly parallel to the shore, and at a small distance from it, and extending themselves immensely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their sides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the summit, all kinds of climates may at all seasons of the year be found. These mountains, by intercepting great part of the eastern winds which generally blow over the continent of South America, and by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping besides a prodigious extent of the atmosphere perpetually cool by its contiguity to the snows with which they are covered; these hills, I say, by thus extending the influence of their frozen crests to the neighbouring coasts and seas of Peru, are doubtless the cause of the temperature and equability which constantly prevail there. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where these mountains left us, and had nothing to screen us to the eastward but the high lands on the isthmus of Panama, which are but mole-hills to the Andes, we then soon found that in a short run we had totally changed our climate, passing in two or three days from the temperate air of Peru to the sultry burning atmosphere of the West-Indies. But it is time to return to our narration,

On the 10th of November we were three leagues south of the southernmost island of Lobos, lying in the latitude of 6° 27′ south: There are two islands of this, name; this called Lobos de la Mar; and another, which lies to the northward of it, very much resembling it in shape and appearance, and often mistaken for it, called Lobos de Tierra. We were now drawing near to the station appointed to the Gloucester; for which reason, fearing to miss her, we made an easy sail all night. The next morning, at day break, we saw a ship in shore, and to windward, plying up the coast: she had passed by us with the favour of the night, and we soon, perceiving her not to be the Gloucester, got our tacks on board, and gave her chase; but it proving very little wind, so that neither of us could make much way, the commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Trial's pinnace to be manned and armed, and to pursue the chase and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her first, about nine o'clock, and running along-side of her, he fired a volley of small shot between the masts, just over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered with the greatest part of his men; but the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlasses, and the volley they had just received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to the commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was arrived within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence, which he was desirous the commodore should be acquainted with as soon as possible. On his arrival we learnt that the prize was called Nuestra Señora del Carmin, of about two hundred and seventy tons burthen; she was commanded by Marcos Morena, a native of Venice, and had on board forty three mariners: she was deep laden with steel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar, plank, snuff, rosarios, European bale goods, powder

blue, cinnamon, Romish indulgences, and other species of merchandize. And though this cargo, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet with respest to the Spaniards it was the most considerable capture that fell into our hands in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime cost at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopped at Paita in her passage to take in a recruit of water and provisions, and had not left that place above twenty-four hours before she fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr. Brett had received some important intelligence from the prisoners, which he endeavoured to acquaint the commodore with immediately. The first person he received it from (though upon further examination it was confirmed by the other prisoners) was one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams was a papist, who worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar: he pretended, that by this business he had got 4 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stript of all he had. He was indeed at present all in rags, being but just got out of Paita gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanor; he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately informed them that, a few days before, a vessel came into Paita, where the master of her informed the governor that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which, from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English squadron. This we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterwards found it was. The governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima to acquaint the viceroy therewith: and the royal officer residing at Paita, being apprehensive of a visit from the English, was busily employed in removing the king's trea-

sure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues distant. We further learnt from our prisoners, that there was a very considerable sum of money belonging to some merchants at Lima, that was now lodged at the custom-house at Paita; and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel which was then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonsonnate, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manila ship. This vessel at Paita was esteemed a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; and, in the opinion of the prisoners, she might be able to sail the succeeding morning. The character they gave us of this vessel, in which the money was to be shipped, left us little reason to believe that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. And therefore, as we were now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruizing in these parts any longer would answer no purpose, the commodore resolved to surprise the place, having first minutely informed himself of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt. This surprise of Paita, besides the treasure it promised us, and its being the only enterprise it was in our power to undertake, had these other advantages attending it; that we should in all probability supply ourselves with great quantities of live provisions, of which we were at this time in want: and we should likewise have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our stock that remained was capable of furnishing long. In all these lights the attempt was a most eligible one, and what our necessities, our situation, and every prudential consideration prompted us to.

CHAP. X.

The Taking of Paita, and our Proceedings till we left the Coast of Peru.

Mr. Anson, having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved (as hath been said in the preceding chapter) to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues distant from the shore; far enough to prevent our being discovered, yet not so far, but that by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships in the night. However, the commodore prudently considered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships, being such large bodies, might be easily discovered at a distance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the Trial's pinnaces on that service; and having picked out fifty eight men to man them, well provided with arms and ammunition, he gave the command of the expedition to lieutenant Brett, and gave him his necessary orders. And the better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place, two of the Spanish pilots were ordered to attend the lieutenant, and to conduct him to the most convenient landing place, and were afterwards to be his guides on shore: and that we might have the greater security for their faithful behaviour on this occasion, the commodore took care to assure all our prisoners that, if the pilots acted properly, they should all of them be released, and set on shore at this place; but in case of any misconduct or treachery, he threatened them that the pilots should be instantly shot, and that he would carry all the rest of the Spaniards, who were on board

him, prisoners to England. So that the prisoners themselves were interested in our success, and therefore we had no reason to suspect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

And on this occasion I cannot but remark a singular circumstance of one of the pilots employed by us in this business. It seems (as we afterwards learnt) he had been taken by captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been forced to lead Clipperton and his people to the surprise of Truxillo, a town within land to the southward of Paita, where, however, he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, though the place was taken. Now that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he too a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident so very extraordinary, that I could not help taking notice of it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But about ten o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered: but no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people on board a vessel riding at anchor there, perceived him, who instantly put off in their boat, rowing towards the fort, shouting and crying, "The English, the English dogs", &c. by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed; and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in a great motion. Lieutenant Brett, on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up to the shore, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. However, be-

fore our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing place; and though in the darkness of the night it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked, by the time the second gun fired. As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of this street, the fort being one side of the square, and the governor's house another.

In this march (though performed with tolerable regularity) the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors, who had been confined so long on shipboard, and were now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are when they land, and animated besides in the present case with the hopes of an immense pillage;—the huzzas, I say, of this spirited detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least three hundred; by which persuasion the inhabitants were so greatly intimidated, that they were much more solicitous about the means of their flight than of their resistance: so that though upon entering the parade our people received a volley from the merchants who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned upon the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

On this success lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the governor's house, and if possible to secure the governor, whilst he himself with the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without opposition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their escape over the walls. By this means the whole place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour's time from the first landing, with no other loss than that of one man killed on the spot, and two wounded; one of which was the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, who received a slight bruise by a ball which grazed on his wrist. Indeed another of the company, the honourable Mr. Kepple, son to the earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow escape; for having on a jockey cap, one side of the peak was shaved off close to his temple by a ball, which however did him no other injury.

And now lieutenant Brett, after this success, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's house, and appointed sentinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. And this being done, his next care was to seize on the custom-house where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what further precautions it was necessary to take;—but he soon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable: for the greatest part of them (being in bed when the place was surprised) had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their clothes. And in this precipitate rout the governor was not the last to secure himself; for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him, though she too was afterwards carried off in her shift

by a couple of sentinels, just as the detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived before it. This escape of the governor was an unpleasing circumstance, as Mr. Anson had particularly recommended it to lieutenant Brett to secure his person, if possible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place: but it seems his alertness rendered it impossible to seize him. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes which were found in the place; these, instead of being shut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort. However, there was care taken that they should be always attended by a file of musqueteers.

The transporting the treasure from the custom-house to the fort was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people, after he had got possession of the place. But the sailors, while they were thus employed, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them, in search of private pillage. And the first things which occurred to them being the clothes which the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which according to the custom of the country were most of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly seized these glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets, not forgetting, at the same time, the tye or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it: And those who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's clothes sufficient to equip themselves, they were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no scruple of putting on, and blending with their own greasy dress. So that when a party of them thus ridicuously metamorphozed first appear-

ed before Mr. Brett, he was extremely surprised at their appearance, and could not immediately be satisfied they were his own people.

These were the transactions of our detachment on shore at Paita the first night.—And now to return to what was done on board the Centurion in that interval. I must observe that after the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then supposing our detachment to be near landing, we made an easy sail for the bay. About seven in the morning we began to open the bay, and soon after we had a view of the town; and though we had no reason to doubt of the success of the enterprise, yet it was with great joy that we first discovered an infallible signal of the certainty of our hopes; this was by means of our perspectives, for through them we saw an English flag hoisted on the flag-staff of the fort, which to us was an incontestible proof that our people had got possession of the town. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off shore, would permit us; and at eleven the Trial's boat came on board us, laden with dollars and church-plate; and the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's transactions, such as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we came to an anchor in ten fathom and a half, at a mile and a half distance from the town, and were consequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourse with those on shore. And now we found that Mr. Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treasure without interruption: but that the enemy had rendezvoused from all parts of the country on a hill, at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance; for amongst the rest of their force, there were two hundred horse seemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furnished with trumpets, drums and standards. These troops pa-

raded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate us, as our numbers on shore were by this time not unknown to them, in hopes that we might be induced by our fears to abandon the place before the pillage was completed. But we were not so ignorant as to believe that this body of horse, which seemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in streets and amongst houses even had their numbers been three times as great; and therefore, notwithstanding their menaces, we went on, as long as the day-light lasted, calmly, in sending off the treasure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, &c. which we found here in great abundance. But at night, to prevent any surprise, the commodore sent on shore a reinforcement, who posted themselves in all the streets leading to the parade; and for their greater security, they traversed the streets with barricadoes six feet high: and the enemy continuing quiet all night, we at day-break returned again to our labour of loading the boats and sending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what consequence it would have been to us, had fortune seconded the prudent views of the commodore, by permitting us to have secured the governor. For we found in the place many store-houses full of valuable effects, which were useless to us at present, and such as we could not find room for on board. But had the governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for a ransom, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas, he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, which was fourteen leagues distant, he was so elated with his numbers, and so fond of his new military command, that he seemed not to trouble himself about the fate of his government. So that though Mr. Anson sent several

messages to him by the inhabitants, who were in our power, desiring him to enter into a treaty for the ransom, of the town and goods, giving him at the same time an intimation that he should be far from insisting on a rigorous equivalent, but perhaps might be satisfied with some live cattle, and a few necessaries for the use of the squadron, and assuring him too, that if he would not condescend at least to treat, he would set fire to the town and all the warehouses; yet the governor was so imprudent and arrogant, that he despised all these reiterated applications, and did not deign even to return the least answer to them.

On the second day of our being in possession of the place, several negro slaves deserted from the enemy on the hill, and coming into the town, voluntarily entered into our service: one of these was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. And the Spaniards without the town, being in extreme want of water, many of their slaves crept into the place by stealth, and carried away several jars of water to their masters on the hill; and though some of them were seized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirst amongst the enemy was so pressing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. And now, on this second day, we were assured, both by the deserters and by these prisoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were by this time increased to a formidable number, had resolved to storm the town and fort the succeeding night; and that one Gordon, a Scotch papist, and captain of a ship in those seas, was to have the command of this enterprise. But we, notwithstanding, continued sending off our boats, and prosecuted our work without the least hurry or precipitation till the evening; and then a reinforcement was again sent on shore by the commodore, and lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes; and our posts being connected by the means of sentinels placed within call of each other, and the

whole being visited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum, these marks of our vigilance, which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtless hear the drum, if not the calls of the sentinels;—these marks, I say, of our vigilance, and of our readiness to receive them, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; so that we passed this second night with as little molestation as we had done the first.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the Centurion the evening before; so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town. And the commodore intending to sail this day, he, about ten o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches under a strict guard, till he was ready to embark his men. Mr. Brett was at the same time ordered to set the whole town on fire, except the two churches, which by good fortune stood at some distance from the other houses, and then he was to abandon the place and to come on board. These orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. Brett immediately set his men to work, to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles, of which great quantities were found here, into houses situated in different streets of the town, so that the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be more violent and sudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguish it. These preparations being made, he in the next place ordered the cannon which he found in the fort to be nailed up; and then setting fire to those houses which were most to windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. And the part of the beach where he intended to embark being an open place

THE BURNING OF PAYTA.

without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. And for this purpose a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty, picked out, as I suppose, for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not been prepossessed with a juster opinion of their prowess, we might have suspected, that now we were on the open beach, with no advantage of situation, they would certainly have charged us: but we presumed, (and we were not mistaken) that this was mere ostentation. For notwithstanding the pomp and parade they advanced with, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy stopped their career, and never dared to advance a step further.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for some time delayed, by missing one of their number; but being unable, by their mutual inquiries amongst each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats, and to put off without him. And the last man was actually embarked, and the boats just putting off, when they heard him calling to them to take him in. The town was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely see him, though they heard his voice. The lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtless were, with the pillage and destruction of their town. On inquiring into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a

dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed on first opening his eyes, to see the place all on a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly reduced him to a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durst, (for he could not swim) before he ventured to look back.

And here I cannot but observe, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and spirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have so far neglected his duty, as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were on shore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from sailors who had been so long confined to a ship: and though part of this prudent demeanour must doubtless be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent discipline to which they had been long inured on board the commodore; yet it was doubtless no small reputation to the men, that they should in general refrain from indulging themselves in those intoxicating liquors, which they found ready to their hands in almost every warehouse.

And having mentioned this single instance of drunkenness, I cannot pass by another oversight, which was likewise the only one of its kind, and which was attended with very particular circumstances. There was an Englishman, who had formerly wrought as a ship-carpenter in the yard at Portsmouth, but leaving his country, had afterwards entered into the Spanish service, and was employed by them at the port of Guaiaquil; and it being well

known to his friends in England that he was then in that part of the world, they put letters on board the Centurion, directed to him. This man being then by accident amongst the Spaniards, who were retired to the hill at Paita, he was desirous (as it should seem) of acquiring some reputation amongst his new masters. With this view he came down unarmed to a sentinel of ours, who was placed at some distance from the fort towards the enemy, and pretended to be desirous of surrendering himself, and of entering into our service. Our sentinel had a cock'd pistol; but being deceived by the other's fair speeches, he was so imprudent as to let him approach much nearer than he ought; so that the ship-wright, watching his opportunity, rushed on the sentinel, and seizing his pistol, wrenched it out of his hand, and instantly ran away with it up the hill. By this time, two of our people, who seeing the fellow advance had suspected his intention, were making towards him, and were thereby prepared to pursue him; but he got to the top of the hill before they could reach him, and then turning about fired the pistol; at which instant his pursuers fired at him; and though he was at a great distance, and the crest of the hill hid him as soon as they had fired, so that they took it for granted they had missed him, yet we afterwards learnt that he was shot through the body, and had fallen down dead the very next step he took after he was out of sight. The sentinel too, who had been thus grossly imposed upon, did not escape unpunished; for he was ordered to be severely whipt for being thus shamefully surprised upon his post, and for having given an example of carelessness, which, if followed in other instances, might prove fatal to us all.

By the time our people had taken their comrade out of the water, and were making the best of their way for the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and had got such

hold, both by means of combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials of which the houses were composed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was sufficiently apparent, no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandize contained therein. A whole town on fire at once, especially a place that burnt with such facility and violence, being a very singular spectacle, Mr. Brett had the curiosity to delineate its appearance, together with that of the ships in the harbour.

Our detachment under lieutenant Brett having safely joined the squadron, the commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening. He found, when he first came into the bay, six vessels of the enemy at anchor; one of which was the ship which, according to our intelligence, was to have sailed with the treasure to the coast of Mexico, and which, as we were persuaded she was a good sailer, we resolved to take with us: the others were two snows, a bark, and two row-galleys of thirty-six oars a-piece: these last, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the same kind built at different ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao: for the Spaniards, on the first intelligence of our squadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The commodore, having no occasion for these other vessels, had ordered the masts of all five of them to be cut away on his first arrival; and now, at his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and scuttled and sunk; and the command of the remaining ship, called the Solidad, being given to Mr. Hughs the lieutenant of the Trial, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the squadron, towards midnight, weighed anchor, and sailed out of the bay, being now augmented to six sail,

that is, the Centurion and the Trial prize, together with the Carmelo, the Teresa, the Carmin, and our last acquired vessel the Solidad.

And now, before I entirely quit the account of our transactions at this place, it may not perhaps be improper to give a succinct relation of the booty we made here, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained. I have before observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but as the greatest part of them were what we could neither dispose of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandize can only be rudely guessed at. But the Spaniards, in the representations they made to the court of Madrid (as we were afterwards assured), estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars: and when it is considered, that no small part of the goods we burnt there were of the richest and most expensive species, as broad-cloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, &c. I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate. As to our parts, our acquisition, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet in itself far from despicable; for the wrought plate dollars and other coin which fell into our hands amounted to upwards of 30,000*l.* sterling, besides several rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not then determine; and over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; so that, upon the whole, it was by much the most important booty we made upon that coast.

There remains, before I take leave of this place, another particularity to be mentioned, which, on account of the great honour which our national character in those parts has thence received, and the reputation which our commodore in particular has thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstantial discussion. It has been already related, that all the prisoners taken by us in our preceding prizes

were put on shore, and discharged at this place; amongst which, there were some persons of considerable distinction, particularly a youth of about seventeen years of age, son of the vice-president of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the Buccaneers, and the artful use the ecclesiastics had made of it, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of the English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety. In particular, this youth whom I last mentioned, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country; of all which he was fully persuaded he had taken his last farewell, believing that he was now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel servitude: nor was he singular in his fears; for his companions on board, and indeed all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr. Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface these inhuman impressions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for, should dine at his table by turns; and giving the strictest orders too, that they should at all times, and in every circumstance, be treated with the utmost decency and humanity. But notwithstanding this precaution, it was generally observed, that for the first day or two they did not quit their fears, but suspected the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought-of calamity. However, being confirmed by time, they grew perfectly easy in their situation and remarkably cheerful, so that it was often disputable, whether or no they considered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above mentioned, who was near

two months on board us, had at last so far conquered his melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection to Mr. Anson, and seemed so much pleased with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever seen before, that it is doubtful to me whether, if his own opinion had been taken, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to the being set on shore at Paita, where he was at liberty to return to his country and his friends.

This conduct of the commodore to his prisoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewise (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation. But whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr. Anson before the taking of the Teresa, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards those women, whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that vessel: for the leaving them in the possession of their apartments, the strict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to stay with them as their guardian, were measures that seemed so different from what might be expected from an enemy and a heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had themselves experienced his beneficence, were surprised at this new instance of it; and the more so, as all this was done without his having seen the women, though the two daughters were both esteemed handsome, and the youngest was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themselves too were so sensible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Paita, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in person. Indeed, all the prisoners left us with the strongest

assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jesuit in particular, whom the commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring, that he should consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice at all times; adding, that his usage of the men prisoners was such as could never be forgot, and such as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occasions: but that his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be scarcely sufficient to render it credible. And indeed we were afterwards informed, that both he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head, but had, both at Lima and at other places, given the greatest encomiums to our commodore; the Jesuit in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense that article of his church, which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.

And let it not be imagined, that the impressions which the Spaniards hence received to our advantage is a matter of small import; for, not to mention several of our countrymen who have already felt the good effects of these prepossessions, the Spaniards are a nation, whose good opinion of us is doubtless of more consequence than that of all the world besides: not only as the commerce we have formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is so extremely valuable; but also as the transacting it does so immediately depend on the honour and good faith of those who are intrusted with its management. But, however, had no national conveniencies attended it, the commodore's equity and good temper would not less have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to those whom the fortune

of war had put into his hands. I shall only add, that by his constant attachment to these humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a distinguished reputation amongst the Creolian Spaniards, which is not confined merely to the coast of the South Seas, but is extended through all the Spanish settlements in America; so that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of most of the Spanish inhabitants of that prodigious empire.

Soon after we left Paita, a jealousy arose between the ships' crews and the party on shore, in respect to private plunder, which was carried to so great a height, that the commodore thought fit to interpose his authority, to prevent mischievous consequences. He set before the party who had carried the town, the justice of the rest participating in the spoils; and, ordering the whole to be produced on deck, made an equitable division, according to rank; but as an encouragement to those who had behaved so well in the attack, he gave his own entire share to be distributed among them.

This troublesome affair being adjusted to the satisfaction of all those who were capable of perceiving the force of equity, we immediately after had the good fortune to fall in with the Gloucester, whose captain informed us, that during his absence he had only taken two prizes, one of which had about seven thousand pounds in specie on board, while the other, though no more than a launch, carried treasure to the amount of twelve thousand, in double doubloons and dollars, curiously concealed in cotton. This treasure was going to Paita, and belonged to the merchants, who were the proprietors of the greatest part of the money found in that town.

It was now resolved to proceed to the north to cruise for the Manilla galleon, which was known to be at sea; and as it was now only the middle of November, and that vessel was not expected till January, they did not doubt of being able to arrive soon

enough to intercept her, after taking in a supply of water at Quibo. Two of the prizes which had been added to the squadron, proving heavy sailers, were ordered to be stript and burnt.

On the 22d, after some trivial arrangements and preparations, we passed the equinoctial, when, standing towards the isthmus, we experienced an extraordinary alteration of the climate, having frequent calms and heavy rains, which soon made it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the Centurion.

About the beginning of December we anchored at Quibo, which we found extremely well adapted for wooding and watering. The whole island, except one part, rises to a moderate eminence, and its surface is covered with woods of perpetual verdure. Among the trees we found abundance of cassia; but, notwithstanding the climate and the shelter of the woods, we saw but few birds, except of the parrot kind.

The animals most plentiful were monkeys and guanoes, which we frequently killed for food. We saw some herds of deer, but found it very difficult to get near them.

The sea is infested with a great number of alligators of an extraordinary size, and our people often observed a large kind of flat fish, which they supposed to be of that species so fatal to the pearl divers by clasping them in its fins. While the ships lay at anchor here, the commodore, with some attendants, went in a boat to examine a bay to northward, and afterwards ranged along the eastern side of the island. On the north-east extremity they discovered a cascade, superior to any thing of the kind which human art or industry had ever produced. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which precipitated itself down a declivity of one hundred and fifty feet. The channel down which it flowed was entirely composed of rocks, whose broken fragments kept the water in constant agitation. The

banks were beautifully fringed with wood, and even the huge masses of rock which overhung the water, and by their various projections formed the inequalities of the channel, were clothed with lofty forest trees.

In this expedition we saw no inhabitants, but many huts on the shore, and large heaps of fine mother of pearl, which had been left by the pearl fishers from Panama. These oysters are large, but very tough and unpalatable. Such as produce the best pearls are found at a considerable depth, and it is generally seen, that the pearl partakes of the quality of the bottom.

Negro slaves are employed in these valuable though dangerous fisheries; and it is said, they are not reckoned complete divers, till they can protract their stay under water so long, that the blood gushes out from their mouth, nose, and ears; and when this has once happened, they practise their vocation with more facility than before, nor ever are subject to a repetition of the same evacuations.

Though the pearl oyster was no very tempting food, yet that disappointment was amply compensated for by the turtle, which is here found in the most exuberant plenty and the greatest perfection. There are usually reckoned four species; the loggerhead, the trunk-turtle, the hawksbill, and the green. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawksbill, which produces the tortoise shell, is somewhat better; but the green turtle is the most delicious of all animal food. Of these we procured an ample supply; and, in general, they weighed two hundred pounds.

By the liberal use of fresh provisions and vegetables, during the space of seven months, we buried only two men; an indisputable proof of the salubrity of the climate, and the wholesomeness of the fare on which we subsisted.

It is, however, remarkable, that notwithstanding

the scarcity of other provisions in some parts of this coast, the Spaniards should hold turtle in so little estimation. Most of them consider this kind of food as dangerous, if not absolutely poisonous. Some of the Indian and negro slaves on board, having imbibed the prejudices of the country, were astonished when they observed the English feeding on turtle; and it was not till after repeated proofs of its innocence, that they would venture to taste it themselves. However, at last, they began to relish it extremely, and congratulated each other on the luxurious and plentiful repasts that it would always be in their power to procure, when they recovered their liberty.

Having left Quibo on the 9th of December, we next day took a small bark laden with rock-salt and oakum. On the 12th we came up with the Gloucester, which had separated from us before our arrival at the last station. The commodore now delivered fresh instructions to the different commanders, and appointed new places of rendezvous, in case of separation. It was particularly recommended, to endeavour, with all possible dispatch, to get to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco; and, as we expected to fall in with the trade wind, we did not doubt of being able to gain this station in due time. However, we were baffled, for near a month, by tempestuous weather and dead calms; and, at length, beginning to despair of intercepting the Manilla ship, we gave way to despondency. At last we fell in with the trade-wind, which served to revive our hopes; and though the usual time of the galleon's arrival at Acapulco was already elapsed, we flattered ourselves that the same causes which delayed our progress, might have detained the enemy also.

At ten at night, on the 28th of January, the Trial's prize made a signal for seeing a sail. As nobody doubted but what they saw was a ship's light, they were animated with the firm persuasion

that it was the Manilla galleon; and every preparation was accordingly made, which sanguine hope and the prospect of immediate wealth could dictate or inspire. The Centurion pressed forward with all her canvass; the Gloucester was directed to do the same; and then they chased the light, under the expectation of engaging within the short space of half an hour. Sometimes they fancied themselves within a mile of their prize, at others within reach of their guns; and there were not wanting, who fancied that they could perceive her sails. The commodore himself was so fully impressed with the belief that he should soon come up with the chase, that he ordered the guns to be ready for a broadside, and directed that they should not fire till within pistol shot.

In this constant and eager expectation we remained all night; but when morning came on, we awaked as from a dream. The object of all our bustle and hope was found to be no other than a fire on a mountain, which continued burning for several days; and, probably, arose from heath or stubble consuming for the purposes of agriculture.

Thus frustrated, the commodore dispatched the barge in search of the harbour of Acapulco, and to ascertain whether the galleon was actually arrived. On the 19th of February she returned, and reported, that they had discovered the harbour; and that, having got within the island which forms its mouth, they discerned a small light near the surface of the water, which they found proceeded from a fishing canoe. By good fortune they secured the three negroes who belonged to it; and turning the canoe adrift, to give those on shore the idea that her crew were drowned, they brought them safe off.

From these persons the commodore was soon satisfied, respecting the most material points which had long kept us in suspense. They informed him that the galleon arrived on the 18th of January; but revived his hopes by adding, that she was taking in

water and provisions in order to return, and that her departure was fixed for the 14th of March.

The last part of this intelligence diffused a general joy among the mariners, and we promised ourselves a richer prize than we had formerly missed, as she would now be chiefly laden with specie. Depending on the accounts we had received, we waited for the important moment with the utmost impatience; and employed ourselves in bringing the squadron into the most advantageous trim.

When the expected day was approaching, the commodore ranged his ships in a circular line, that nothing might pass undiscovered, within an extent of twenty-four leagues. Every precaution, indeed, was used to prevent failure, and every plan settled that could ensure success.

As the morning dawned that was to bring us the expected sight, neither the duties of the ship, nor the calls of hunger, could divert the eyes of the men from the port of Acapulco. But, to their extreme vexation, both that day and the succeeding night passed without any signs of the galleon. Hopes and fears now alternately possessed us, till the commencement of Passion week, when no Spanish ship is permitted to leave the port; and this induced us to defer our expectations till the week following, when our hopes became as sanguine as ever.

The time, however, being now far spent, a general dejection and despondency took place; and we concluded that we had been discovered; which was, indeed, the truth; and that the galleon would not be permitted to sail till the succeeding year.

The commodore now concerted a plan for the capture of Acapulco itself; but when he inquired into the circumstances of the place, he found insuperable difficulties in his way, and was obliged to abandon the enterprise.

On the 24th of March, the ships being all joined, the commodore made a signal to speak with their

commanders, and finding that the stock of fresh water began to run low, it was resolved to procure a fresh supply at Seguatanio, or Chequetan; but lest the galleon should slip out, the Centurion's cutter was to cruise twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, to be ready to convey the earliest information of this event.

Storms and adverse currents prevented us from reaching so far as Seguatanio till the 1st of April, when two boats were sent off to discover the watering place. They returned on the 5th, and having found a place fit for their purpose, which appeared to be the harbour of Chequetan, about seven miles to the west, the Centurion and Gloucester anchored there the same evening.

The port of Chequetan is a place of considerable importance, being the only secure harbour, except Acapulco, in a vast extent of coast. It lies in 17 deg. 36 min. north, about thirty leagues from the last-mentioned place.

As the country appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, the commodore was in hopes of procuring some fresh provisions and other refreshments, without difficulty; and with this view, he ordered a party of forty men well armed to penetrate into the country, to discover some town or village, and to open a correspondence with the natives. These men were enjoined to behave with the utmost circumspection, and to avoid any appearances of a hostile intention.

The attempt, however, to open an amicable traffic proved ineffectual; and they returned in the evening fatigued and exhausted. After proceeding some miles inland, they reached a large plain, on one side of which they discovered a sentinel on horseback. At their first approach, they supposed that he was asleep, for his horse starting at the glittering of their arms, suddenly turned round, and had nearly thrown his master: however, he recovered his seat, and es-

caped with the loss of his hat and a pistol, which he dropped on the ground. The party pursued his track, in hopes of discovering the village or habitation to which he should retreat; but, after fatiguing themselves in vain, they were obliged to desist.

Anxious, however, to make some discovery, they proceeded further on, and in their way, stuck up several poles, to which they affixed written declarations, in Spanish, of their wish to purchase provisions, with the strongest assurances that they would honourably pay for what the natives might bring in. But this step too was ineffectual; for none of the inhabitants visited us during our stay at Chequetan.

Indeed, the timidity of these people is extreme. Lieutenant Brett being sent out, with two boats and sixteen men, to reconnoitre the coast to the eastward, fell in with three small squadrons of horse, which seemed determined to oppose his landing; but when they perceived that he was not daunted, they fired some distant shot, and, receiving a volley from the English, immediately fled in great confusion, and sheltered themselves in a wood. Thus, nearly two hundred Spanish horsemen were afraid to face sixteen English sailors!

The commodore finding it impossible to open a friendly correspondence with the natives for necessaries, turned his attention to the procuring of such refreshments as the neighbourhood of the port supplied. The sea was stored with excellent fish, of which we caught considerable quantities. We likewise found here the torpedo, so well known to produce a numbness over the human frame, particularly of that limb with which it comes in contact. The chaplain belonging to the Centurion had a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to his arm, by touching this animal with a walking cane. Its surprising effects, however, are immediately lost with its life; when dead, it may be handled, or even eaten, without the least inconvenience.

The guanoes were the most numerous of the animals we met with on shore; and by some they were reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey, but were convinced that the woods sheltered tigers, as the prints of their feet were frequently to be discerned. Of birds they had many species, particularly pheasants, of various kinds.

Fruits and vegetables were scarce, and by no means of the first quality. Limes, plums, and papahs were the only fruits we discovered, and these neither good nor plentiful. Brooklime was the best vegetable we met with, which, though extremely bitter and unpalatable, was highly esteemed for its antiscorbutic virtues.

An incident happened at this place, which proved the means of conveying information to England, of the previous transactions of the squadron. Lewis Leger, the commodore's cook, a Frenchman by birth, and suspected to be a papist, being found missing, it was immediately concluded that he had deserted, with a view of betraying us to the enemy, and of enjoying the price of his perfidy with less hazard to himself. This surmise, so natural to form when a Frenchman is in the pay of England, was in this particular case found to be unjust. The poor man, it seems, straying beyond the usual bounds, had been taken prisoner by some Indians, by whom he was carried to Acapulco; and after some delays was put on board a vessel at Vera Cruz, which was bound for Old Spain. By some accident, this vessel being obliged to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped, and making himself known to the British consul, obtained a passage for England, where the intelligence he had to communicate made him favourably received.

Having unladen the Trial's prize, the Carmelo, and Carmin of their most valuable articles and stores, these vessels were towed on shore and scuttled, and a quantity of combustibles were distributed

in their upper works. Next morning, the 28th of April, the Centurion and Gloucester weighed anchor, after leaving a canoe fixed to a grapnel, in the midst of the harbour, with a letter for Mr. Hughs, who commanded the cutter that had been stationed off Acapulco, in case he should put in there. This letter afterwards fell into the hands of the Spaniards; but was couched in such ambiguous terms, as deceived rather than informed them.

As the commodore had no further views in the American seas, it was no small mortification to him, to be detained by the absence of the cutter, the time of whose cruise had been long expired. In order to rejoin her more speedily, it was resolved to proceed towards Acapulco; and in case she could not be found, attempts were to be made to ascertain whether she had been captured.

Having advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, without any sight of this missing vessel, we began to give her over for lost, and to bewail the fate of her crew, whom we generally concluded to be in captivity. However, to bring this supposition to an early proof, the commodore sent a letter to the governor of the town, offering to release all the prisoners he had on board, in exchange for the cutter's crew, consisting of the lieutenant and six picked men of tried resolution. The officer, who carried this letter, had likewise a petition from the prisoners, in which they earnestly besought the governor to comply with the terms proposed.

To an offer so generous it was not doubted the Spaniards would readily accede, and accordingly we kept near the land, in order to receive an answer at the time limited; but being driven out to sea, on the 4th day after the proposal was sent, we were fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco, which we were indefatigably striving to regain.

While thus standing in with a favourable wind, a boat under sail was descried at a considerable di-

stance. This we supposed might be conveying the expected message, and instantly edged towards her; but on a nearer approach we found, to our unspeakable joy, that it was our own cutter. At first it was imagined they had been discharged by the governor of Acapulco; but when they drew nearer, the pale and meagre countenances of the crew, and their emaciated forms, convinced every one, that these poor people must have undergone sufferings much greater than those of a Spanish prison. In short, it appeared that, after they had finished their cruise, they endeavoured to rejoin the squadron; but being carried by currents far to the eastward, and their water all expended, they were obliged to search the coast for a landing-place, in order to get a fresh supply. In this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues, but were every where prevented from landing by a violent surf. Some days passed in this dreadful situation, during which, their thirst being increased by the heat of the climate, they had no other means of allaying it, but by killing turtle and sucking their blood. Just as they were abandoned to despair, Providence sent them such a plentiful shower as filled their casks, and enabled them to prosecute their voyage in quest of their commodore, whom they luckily fell in with in less than fifty hours, after an absence of forty-three days.

Mr. Anson had too much greatness of soul to sport with the feelings of the unfortunate. As he had promised the prisoners their liberty on conditions which, it appeared, could not be performed, he was determined not to disappoint their hopes. They were all sent ashore in two launches to the number of fifty-seven; and it was afterwards known that they landed in safety, and made the most honourable mention of the humanity with which they had been treated. Before their arrival, it seems the governor of Acapulco had returned an obliging answer to the commodore's letter, accompanied

with two boats' load of the choicest refreshments and provisions; but these not finding the English ships, were obliged to return; and, encountering a storm, were compelled to throw their lading overboard, to save their lives.

CHAP. XI.

The Run from the Coast of Mexico to the Ladrones or Marian Islands.

On the 6th of May 1742, we left the coast of America, and stood to the S. W. with a view of meeting with the N. E. trade-wind. A few days after our running off the coast of Mexico, the Gloucester had her main-mast cut down to a stump, and we were obliged to fish our fore-mast; and these misfortunes, increased by the dreadfully scorbutic state of our crews, were greatly aggravated by our meeting with contrary and variable winds for near seven weeks.

The trade-wind continued to favour us without any fluctuation, from the end of June till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about three hundred leagues distant from the Ladrones, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days time. This was a most dispiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of speedy relief, especially too as it was attended with a vexatious incident to the Gloucester: for in one part of these four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep; by which means the Gloucester's forecap split, and her top-mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the slings. As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were obliged, as soon as a gale sprung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were taken from the business of our own ship,

and were employed for eight or ten days together on board the Gloucester in repairing her damages: but these things, mortifying as we thought them, were but the beginning of our disasters; for scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester, before we met with a most violent storm in the western board, which obliged us to lie-to. In the beginning of this storm our ship sprang a leak, and let in so much water, that all our people, officers included, were employed continually in working the pumps: and the next day we had the vexation to see the Gloucester with her top-mast once more by the board; and whilst we were viewing her with great concern for this new distress, we saw her main-top mast, which had hitherto served her as a jury main-mast, share the same fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without resource; for we knew the Gloucester's crew were so few and feeble, that without our assistance they could not be relieved: and our sick were now so far increased, and those that remained in health so continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impossible for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprised of the deplorable situation of the Gloucester's crew; for when the storm abated, (which during its continuance prevented all communication with them) the Gloucester bore up under our stern; and captain Mitchel informed the commodore, that besides the loss of his masts, which was all that had appeared to us, the ship had then no less than seven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept constantly at the pump for the last twenty-four hours.

This last circumstance was indeed a most terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary distresses of the Gloucester, and required, if possible, the most speedy and vigorous assistance; which captain Mitchel begged the commodore to send him: but the debility of our people, and our immediate preserva-

tion, rendered it impossible for the commodore to comply with his request. All that could be done was to send our boat on board for a more particular condition of the ship; and it was soon suspected that the taking her people on board us, and then destroying her, was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency, both for the security of their lives and of our own.

Our boat soon returned with a representation of the state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by captain Mitchel and all his officers; by which it appeared, that she had sprung a leak by the stern-post being loose, and working with every roll of the ship, and by two beams a-midships being broken in the orlope; no part of which the carpenters reported was possible to be repaired at sea: that both officers and men had worked twenty-four hours at the pump without intermission, and were at length so fatigued, that they could continue their labour no longer; but had been forced to desist, with seven feet of water in the hold, which covered their cask, so that they could neither come at fresh water, nor provision: that they had no mast standing, except the fore-mast, the mizen-mast, and the mizen top-mast, nor had they any spare masts to get up in the room of those they had lost: that the ship was besides extremely decayed in every part, for her knees and clamps were all worked quite loose, and her upper works in general were so loose, that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down: and that her crew was greatly reduced, for there remained alive on board her no more than seventy-seven men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners, officers included; and that of this whole number, only sixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm.

The commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in

immediate want, and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found on the strictest inquiry, that the preceding account was in no instance exaggerated, it plainly appeared, that there was no possibility of preserving the Gloucester any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships, capable of working, would not be able to free her, even if our own ship should not employ any part of them. What then could be resolved on, when it was the utmost we ourselves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed, there was no room for deliberation; the only step to be taken was, the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the Gloucester, and getting out of her as much as was possible before she was destroyed. And therefore the commodore immediately sent an order to captain Mitchel, as the weather was now calm and favourable, to send his people on board the Centurion, as expeditiously as he could; and to take out such stores as he could get at, whilst the ship could be kept above water. And as our leak required less attention, whilst the present easy weather continued, we sent our boats with as many men as we could spare, to captain Mitchel's assistance.

The removing the Gloucester's people on board us, and the getting out such stores as could most easily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr. Anson was extremely desirous to have gotten two of her cables and an anchor; but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greatest difficulty that the prize money, which the Gloucester had taken in the South Seas, was secured, and sent on board the Centurion. However, the prize goods on board her, which amounted to several thousand pounds in value, and were principally the Centurion's property, were entirely lost; nor could any more provision be got out than five casks of

flower, three of which were spoiled by the salt-water. Their sick men, amounting to near seventy, were removed into the boats with as much care as the circumstances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoisting them into the Centurion.

It was the 15th of August, in the evening, before the Gloucester was cleared of every thing that was proposed to be removed; and though the hold was now almost full of water, yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim for some time, if the calm should continue, and the water become smooth, she was set on fire; for we knew not how near we might now be to the island of Guam, which was in the possession of our enemies, and the wreck of such a ship would have been to them no contemptible acquisition. When she was set on fire, captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion: and we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions (as we had now only a light breeze) that if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging; but she fortunately burnt, though very fiercely, the whole night, her guns firing successively, as the flames reached them. And it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height.

Thus perished his majesty's ship the Gloucester. And now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarrassments which her frequent disasters had involved us in, we might proceed on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done, especially as we had received some small addition to our strength, by the taking on board the Gloucester's crew; but our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; for, notwithstanding all that we had hitherto suffered,

there remained much greater distresses which we were still to struggle with. For the late storm, which had proved so fatal to the Gloucester, had driven us to the northward of our intended course; and the current setting the same way, after the weather abated, had forced us still a degree or two further, so that we were now in 17° $\frac{1}{4}$ of north latitude, instead of being in 13° $\frac{1}{2}$, which was the parallel we proposed to keep, in order to reach the island of Guam. And as it had been a perfect calm for some days since the cessation of the storm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrones, and supposed ourselves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without discovering them. In this case, the only land we could make would be some of the eastern parts of Asia, where, if we could arrive, we should find the western monsoon in its full force, so that it would be impossible for the stoutest best-manned ship to get in. And this coast being removed between four and five hundred leagues further, we, in our languishing circumstances, could expect no other than to be destroyed by the scurvy, long before the most favourable gale could carry us to such a distance: for our deaths were now extremely alarming, no day passing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and sometimes twelve of our men; and those who had hitherto continued healthy began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the best use we could of the present calm, by employing our carpenters in searching after the leak, which was now considerable notwithstanding the little wind we had. The carpenters at length discovered it to be in the gunner's fore store-room, where the water rushed in under the breast-hook, on each side of the stem; but though they found where it was, they agreed that it was impossible to stop it till we should get into port, and till they could come at it on the outside. However, they did the best they could withinboard, and were fortunate enough to reduce it.

We had hitherto considered the calm which succeeded the storm, and which continued for some days, as a very great misfortune; since the currents were driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby risqued the missing of the Ladrones, which we now conceived ourselves to be very near. But when a gale sprung up, our condition was still worse; for it blew from the S. W., and consequently was directly opposed to the course we wanted to steer. And though it soon veered to the N. E., yet this served only to tantalize us, for it returned back again in a very short time to its old quarter. However, on the 22d of August we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted; and had set us to the southward: and the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands in the western board. This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this an universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again. The nearest of these islands we afterwards found to be Anatacan; we judged it to be full fifteen leagues from us, and it seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length. The other was the island of Serigan; and had rather the appearance of a high rock, than a place at which we could hope to anchor. We were now extremely impatient to get in with the nearest island, where we expected to meet with anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick: but the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly: however, by the next morning we were got so far to the westward, that we were in view of a third island, which was that of Paxaros, though marked in the chart only as a rock. This was small and very low land, and we had passed within less than a mile of it, in the night, without seeing it. And now at noon, being within four miles of the island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we

were not a little solicitous for her return, as we then conceived our fate to depend upon the report we should receive: for the other two islands were obviously enough incapable of furnishing us with any assistance, and we knew not then that there were any others which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no place for a ship to anchor, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all except one small spot, not less than fifty fathom in depth; that on that spot there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the shore; and that the bank was steep-to, and could not be depen ded on: they further told us, that they had landed on the island, but with some difficulty on account of the greatness of the swell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane, or rush; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of cocoa-nut trees.

This account of the impossibility of anchoring at this island occasioned a general melancholy on board; for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction; and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night; for, as we were plying under top-sails, with an intention of getting nearer to the island, and of sending our boat on shore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreshment of our sick, the wind proved squally, and blew so strong off shore, that we were driven so far to the southward, that we dared not to send off our boat. And now the only possible circumstance, that could secure the few which remained alive from perishing, was the accidental falling-in with some other of the Ladrone islands, better prepared for our accommodation: and as our knowledge of these islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance; only, as they are all of them usually laid down near the same meridian,

and we had conceived those we had already seen to be part of them, we concluded to stand to the southward, as the most probable means of falling-in with the next. Thus, with the most gloomy persuasion of our approaching destruction, we stood from the island of Anatacan, having all of us the strongest apprehensions (and those not ill founded) either of dying of the scurvy, or of perishing with the ship, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a short time be expected to founder.

CHAP. XII.

Our Arrival at Tinian, and an Account of the Island, and of our Proceedings there, till the Centurion drove out to Sea.

It was the 26th of August 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of Anatacan. The next morning we discovered three other islands to the eastward, which were from ten to fourteen leagues from us. These were, as we afterwards learnt, the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately steered towards Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three, but had so much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forward by the currents, yet next day at day-break we were at least five leagues distant from it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten in the morning we perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security, and for preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which they would be suf-

ficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship; we therefore mustered all our hands who were capable of standing to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter deck guns with grape shot; and that we might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these islands, we showed Spanish colours, and hoisted a red flag at the fore-top-mast head, to give our ship the appearance of the Manila galeon, hoping thereby to decoy some of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourselves, and standing towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the cutter in-shore, to find out a proper birth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa came off the shore to meet the cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manila ship. As we saw the cutter returning back with the proa in tow, we immediately sent the pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa. The Spaniard was immediately examined as to the produce and circumstances of this island of Tinian, and his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; for he informed us that it was uninhabited, which, in our present defenceless condition, was an advantage not to be despised, especially as it wanted but few of the conveniencies that could be expected in the most cultivated country; for he assured us that there was great plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild on the land, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa nuts in great plenty, besides a fruit peculiar to these islands (called the Dampier, bread fruit); that from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison;

that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, and was sent here with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board of a small bark of about fifteen tons, which lay at anchor near the shore.

This account was received by us with inexpressible joy. Part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the island; and we did not any ways doubt the rest of his relation, as the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our necessities might be there fully relieved, and our diseased recovered, but that, amidst those pleasing scenes which were then in view, we might procure ourselves some amusement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone: for the prospect of the country did by no means resemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus, (an event not unlike what we had already seen) we were forced upon the most desirable and salutary measures by accidents, which at first sight we considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our course, (a circumstance which at that time gave us the most terrible apprehensions,) we should, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful island, and consequently we should have missed of that place, where alone all our wants could be most amply relieved, our sick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreshed, and enabled to put again to sea.

The Spanish serjeant, from whom we received the account of the island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were desirous, if possible, to prevent the Indians from escaping, who doubtless would have given the governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; and we therefore immediately dispatched the pinnace to secure the bark, which the serjeant told us was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom; and though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be found on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when, after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little Paradise, yet we were full five hours in furling our sails. It is true, we were somewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace which were sent on shore; but it is not less true, that, including those absent with the boats and some negro and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster capable of standing at a gun amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which number too were incapable of duty; but on the greatest emergencies this was all the force we could collect, in our present enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the Centurion, the Gloucester, and the Trial, which when we departed from England consisted altogether of near a thousand hands.

When we had furled our sails, the remaining part of the night was allowed to our people for their repose, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone; and in the morning a party was sent on shore well armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing-place, as we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island. We landed without difficulty; for the Indians having perceived, by our seizure of the bark the night

before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of these huts which the Indians made use of for a store-house was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad; this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef, which we found in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who as soon as the place was ready to receive them were brought on shore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight. Numbers of these were so very helpless, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon our shoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandes) the commodore himself, and every one of his officers, were engaged without distinction; and, notwithstanding the great debility and the dying aspects of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land; for, though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not lose above ten men more during our whole two months stay here; and in general, our diseased received so much benefit from the fruits of the island, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few who were not so far recovered as to be able to move about without help.

And now perhaps it may be wondered at, that an island, so exquisitely furnished with the conveniencies of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise to the enjoyments of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which in some measure depend upon this for their support. To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam,

were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls: but a sickness raging amongst these islands, which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminished by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them in a few years died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever shown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it should seem, from what has been already said, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

Towards the middle of September, several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore; and on the 12th of September, all those who were so far relieved, since their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were sent on board the ship. And then the commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days for the recovery of his health, being convinced by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place where his tent was pitched on this occasion was near the well whence we got all our water, and was indeed a most elegant spot.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the island, we began to send our cask on shore to be fitted up, which till now could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we suspected had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables

next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; and they were besides cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and seven fathom from the service, with a good rounding of a $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch hawser; and to all these precautions we added that of lowering the main and fore-yard close down, that in case of blowing weather the wind might have less power upon the ship, to make her ride a strain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we expected the new moon, which was the 18th of September, and riding safe that and the three succeeding days, (though the weather proved very squally and uncertain) we flattered ourselves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents; but, on the 22d, the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that we soon despaired of riding out the storm; and therefore we should have been extremely glad that the commodore and the rest of our people on shore, which were the greatest part of our hands, had been on board with us, since our only hopes of safety seemed to depend on our putting immediately to sea; but all communication with the shore was now effectually cut off, for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out, till our cables parted. Indeed it was not long before this happened, for the small bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind still increased; but notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity, as to prevail over it; for the tide, having set to the northward in the beginning of the storm, turned suddenly to the southward about six in the evening, and forced the ship before it in despite of the storm, which blew upon the beam: and now the sea broke most surprisingly all round us, and a large tumbling swell threatened to poop us; the long-boat, which was at this time moored a-stern, was on a sudden canted so high, that it broke

the transom of the commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtless have risen as high as the tafferel, had it not been for this stroke which stove the boat all to pieces; but the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruised, was saved almost by miracle. About eight, the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate; so that at eleven, the best bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted. Our sheet anchor, which was the only one we had left, was instantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathom of line: this was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and couldnot hold us long. In this pressing danger, Mr. Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shown, as a signal to the commodore of our distress; and in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us, on the island, Mr. Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to a hundred and thirteen persons. Thus were we all, both at sea and on shore, reduced to the utmost despair by this catastrophe; those on shore conceiving they had no means left them ever to leave the island, and we on board utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of the seas and winds we were now exposed to, and expecting each moment to be our last.

CHAP. XIII.

Transactions at Tinian after the Departure of the Centurion.

THE storm, which drove the Centurion to sea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the commodore or any of the people on shore to hear the guns, which she fired as signals of distress; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the explosions from being observed: so that, when at day-break it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them: for much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost, and entreated the commodore that the boat might be sent round the island to look for the wreck; and those who believed her safe, had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the island again: for the wind continued to blow strong at east, and they knew how poorly she was manned and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. And if the Centurion was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared in either case no possibility of their ever getting off the island: for they were at least six hundred leagues from Macao, which was their nearest port; and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish bark, of about fifteen tons, which they seized at their first arrival, and which would not even hold a fourth part of their number: and the chance of their being taken off the island by the casual arrival of any other ship was altogether desperate; as perhaps no European ship had ever anchored here before, and it were madness to expect that like incidents should send another here in a hundred ages to come: so that their desponding thoughts could only suggest to them the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days on

this island, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments.

Nor was this the worst they had to fear: for they had reason to expect that the governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their situation, might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island; and then, the most favourable treatment they could hope for would be to be detained prisoners for life; since, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their distant settlements, it was rather to be expected that the governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, Mr. Anson had doubtless his share of disquietude; but he always kept up his usual composure and steadiness: and having soon projected a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, he first communicated it to some of the most intelligent persons about him; and having satisfied himself that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it. With this view he represented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehensions of the Centurion's being lost: that he should have hoped that they had been all of them better acquainted with sea-affairs, than to give way to the impression of so chimerical a fright; and that he doubted not, but if they would seriously consider what such a ship was capable of enduring, they would confess that there was not the least probability of her having perished: that he was not without hopes that she might return in a few days; but if she did not, the worst that could be supposed was, that she was driven so far to leeward of the island that she could not regain it, and that she would consequently be

obliged to bear away for Macao on the coast of China. That as it was necessary to be prepared against all events, he had, in this case, considered of a method of carrying them off the island, and joining their old ship the Centurion again at Macao: that this method was to hale the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty tons burden, and would enable her to carry them all to China: that he had consulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this proposal was very feasible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it, but the united resolution and industry of the whole body: he added, that for his own part he would share the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the commodore himself, was ready to submit to; and concluded with representing to them the importance of saving time; and that, in order to be the better prepared for all events, it was necessary to set to work immediately, and to take it for granted, that the Centurion would not be able to put back (which was indeed the commodore's secret opinion); since, if she did return, they should only throw away a few days application; but if she did not, their situation, and the season of the year, required their utmost dispatch.

These remonstrances, though not without effect, did not immediately operate so powerfully as Mr. Anson could have wished: he indeed raised their spirits, by showing them the possibility of their getting away, of which they had before despaired; but then, from their confidence of this resource, they grew less apprehensive of their situation, gave a greater scope to their hopes, and flattered themselves that the Centurion would return and prevent the execution of the commodore's scheme, which they could easily foresee would be a work of considerable labour. By this means, it was some days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at last,

being in general convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they set themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and as eager as their commander could desire, punctually assembling at day-break at the rendezvous, whence they were distributed to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night came on.

And here I must interrupt the course of this transaction for a moment, to relate an incident which for some time gave Mr. Anson more concern than all the preceding disasters. A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out "A sail." This spread a general joy, every one supposing that it was the ship returning; but presently a second sail was descried, which quite destroyed their first conjecture, and made it difficult to guess what they were. The commodore eagerly turned his glass towards them, and saw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him, that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this sudden and unexpected suggestion wrought on him so powerfully, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without speaking to any one) instantly to retire to his tent, where he passed some bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that now all his views of further distressing the enemy, and of still signalizing his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end.

But he was soon relieved from these disturbing thoughts, by discovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas; and perceiving that they stood towards the shore, he directed every appearance that could give them any suspicion to be removed, and concealed his people in the adjacent thickets, prepared to secure the Indians when they should land. But, after the proas had stood in within a quarter of a mile of the land, they suddenly stopped

short; and remaining there motionless for near two hours, they then made sail again, and stood to the southward. But to return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their safety depended, we shall find, that, independent of other matters which were of as much importance, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the necessary materials and tools were to be had, the embarrassment would have been much less; but some of these tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no small degree of invention to supply all these deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark should be completed, this was but one article; and there were many others of equal weight, which were to be well considered: these were the rigging it, the victualling it, and lastly, the navigating it, for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, through unknown seas, where no one of the company had ever passed before. In some of these particulars such obstacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the possibility of the whole enterprise would have fallen to the ground, and their utmost industry and efforts must have been fruitless. Of all these circumstances I shall make a short recital.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Gloucester and of the Trial, with their chests of tools, were on shore when the ship drove out to sea; the smith too was on shore, and had with him his forge and some tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; so that he was incapable of working, and without his assistance they could not hope to proceed with their design. Their first attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows; but in this they were for some time puzzled, by their want of leather. However, as they had hides

in sufficient plenty, and they had found a hogshead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own use, they tanned some hides with this lime; and though we may suppose the workmanship to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus made served tolerably well, and the bellows (to which a gun-barrel served for a pipe) had no other inconvenience than that of being somewhat strong scented from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilst the smith was preparing the necessary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into planks; and this being the most laborious task, the commodore wrought at it himself for the encouragement of his people. As there were neither blocks nor cordage sufficient for tackles to hale the bark on shore, it was proposed to get her up on rollers; and for these, the body of the coco-nut tree was extremely useful; for its smoothness and circular turn prevented much labour, and fitted it for the purpose with very little workmanship: a number of these trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the reception of hand-spikes; and in the mean time a dry dock was dug for the bark, and ways laid from thence quite into the sea, to facilitate the bringing her up. And besides those who were thus occupied in preparing measures for the future enlargement of the bark, a party was constantly ordered for the killing and preparing of provisions for the rest. And though in these various employments, some of which demanded considerable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confusion and delay; yet good order being once established, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the common men, I presume, were not the less tractable for their want of spirituous liquors: for, there being neither wine nor brandy on shore, the juice of the coco-nut was their constant drink; and

this, though extremely pleasant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very cool and orderly.

And now the officers began to consider of all the articles necessary for the fitting out the bark; when it was found, that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would serve to rig her indifferently well when she was lengthened: and as they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was well adapted to that purpose: so that with respect to her equipment she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her size: for, as they could not make her quite forty tons burden, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and she would have been so top-heavy, that, if they were all at the same time ordered upon deck, there would be no small hazard of her oversetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was, how to procure a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loss what course to take; for they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore, their bread fruit, which would not keep at sea, having all along supplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no salt to cure beef for a sea-store, nor would meat take salt in that climate. Indeed, they had preserved a small quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly disproportioned to the run of near six hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they should

have on board. It was at last, however, resolved to take on board as many coco-nuts as they possibly could; to make the most of their jerked beef, by a very sparing distribution of it; and to endeavour to supply their want of bread by rice; to furnish themselves with which, it was proposed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the island of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants: but as this last measure was to be executed by force, it became necessary to examine what ammunition had been left on shore, and to preserve it carefully; and on this inquiry, they had the mortification to find, that the utmost that could be collected, by the strictest search, did not amount to more than ninety charges of powder for their firelocks, which was considerably short of one a-piece for each of the company, and was indeed a very slender stock of ammunition, for such as were to eat no grain or bread for a month, but what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the most alarming circumstance, and what, without the providential interposition of very improbable events, had rendered all their schemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the vessel was settled in a few days; and when this was done, it was not difficult to make some estimation of the time necessary to complete her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would consider on the course they were to steer, and the land they were to make. These reflections led them to the disheartening discovery, that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the island. Indeed the commodore had brought a pocket-compass on shore for his own use; but lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the position of the neighbouring islands, and he had been driven to sea in the Centurion, without returning it: and as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to

be found on shore; for, as it was of no use at land, there could be no reason for bringing it from on board the ship. It was eight days, from the departure of the Centurion, before they were in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity: at last, in rummaging a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they found a small compass, which, though little better than the toys usually made for the amusement of school-boys, was to them an invaluable treasure. And a few days after, by a similar piece of good fortune, they found a quadrant on the sea-shore, which had been thrown over-board amongst other lumber belonging to the dead: the quadrant was eagerly seized, but on examination it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore in its present state was altogether useless. However, fortune still continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a person out of curiosity pulling out the drawer of an old table, which had been driven on shore, found therein some vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and was found to answer to a sufficient degree of exactness.

And now, all these obstacles being in some degree removed, (which were always as much as possible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiss with the apprehension of labouring to no purpose,) the work proceeded very successfully and vigorously: the necessary iron-work was in great forwardness; and the timbers and planks (which, though not the most exquisite performances of the sawyer's art, were yet sufficient for the purpose,) were all prepared; so that on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ship, they haled the bark on shore, and on the two succeeding days she was sawn asunder, (though with great care not to cut her planks,) and her two parts were separated the proper distance from each other; and the materials being all ready beforehand, they the next

day, being the 9th of October, went on with great dispatch in their proposed enlargement of her; and by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men, being upon a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the Centurion at a distance; and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing-place, he, in the way, saw some of his comrades, to whom he hollaed out with great ecstasy, "The ship, the ship!" This being heard by Mr. Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that his report was true, Mr. Gordon ran towards the place where the commodore and his people were at work, and, being fresh, and in breath, easily outstripped the Gloucester's man, and got before him to the commodore; who, on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved: the others, who were with him, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of phrensy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all; and a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she the next afternoon happily came to an anchor in the road, where the commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations: for, from the following short recital of the fears, the dangers, and fatigues we in the ship underwent during our nine-

teen days absence from Tinian, it may be easily conceived, that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our commander and shipmates, were not less pleasing to us than our return was to them.

CHAP. XIV.

Proceedings on board the Centurion when driven out to Sea.

THE Centurion being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprized of the fatigues and distresses to which we, who were driven off to sea, were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It has been already mentioned that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of a prodigious storm and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrouds were loose, and our top-masts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main-yards close down before the storm came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board, to navigate the ship, than a hundred and eight hands, several negroes and Indians included: this was scarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived

at half their former vigour. No sooner were we at sea, than by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through our hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers, which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all: but though this leakage, by being a short time neglected, would inevitably end in our destruction; yet we had other dangers then impending, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined that we were driving directly on the neighbouring island of Aguiguan, which was about two leagues distant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizen, which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this instant peril: we therefore immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring, by the utmost of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore-yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvass, we might possibly weather the island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck. But after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable; for we imagined ourselves, by this time, to be driven just upon the shore, and the night was so extremely dark that we expected to discover the island no otherwise than by striking upon it; so that the belief of our destruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occasioned us to pass several hours under the most serious apprehensions that each succeeding moment would send us to the bottom. Nor did these continued terrors of instantly striking and sinking, end but with the day-break; when we with great transport perceived that the island we had thus dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that

a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather, which forced us from Tinian, did not begin to abate till three days after; and then we swayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard, but the jeers broke and killed one of our men, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all; for it must be remembered that in these exigencies no rank or office exempted any person from the manual application and bodily labour of a common sailor. The business of this day was no less than an attempt to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation: for, not to mention the impediment to our navigation, and the hazard it would be to our ship, if we attempted to make sail with the anchor in its present situation, we had this most interesting consideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left; and, without securing it, we should be under the utmost difficulties and hazards whenever we made the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully apprized of the consequence of this enterprise, we laboured at it with the severest application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a considerable progress, having brought the anchor in sight; but it then growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished till the next morning, when, by the benefit of a night's rest, we completed it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September in the morning, that is, five days after our departure, when we thus secured our anchor; and the same day we got up our main-yard: and having now conquered in some degree the distress and disorder which we were neces-

sarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvass, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian, and joining our commodore in a few days: for we were then, by our accounts, only forty-seven leagues to the south-west of Tinian; so that on the first day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the island according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it; but we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us to the westward. And as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and consequently how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehensions that our stock of water might prove deficient; for we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, and found many of our casks so decayed as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, by having a sight of the island of Guam, by which we discovered that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. This sight of land having satisfied us of our situation, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour; for the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew was so weak, that, without the assistance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ship about: this severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of Tinian we were reinforced from the shore, as hath been already mentioned; and on the evening of the same day, we, to our inexpressible joy, came to an anchor in the road, thereby procuring to our shipmates on shore, as well as to ourselves, a cessation from the fatigues and apprehensions which this disastrous incident had given rise to.

CHAP. XV.

Employment at Tinian, till the final Departure of the Centurion from thence; with a Description of the Ladrones.

When the commodore came on board the Centurion, on her return to Tinian, as already mentioned, he resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to complete our stock of water, a work which we immediately set ourselves about.

But the loss of our long-boat, which was staved against our poop when we were driven out to sea, put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our casks, and the tide ran so strong, that, besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The commodore, it is true, and the principal officers were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring provisions: these had with them our two cutters; but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them, and at the same time made a signal for all that could to embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were employed in killing cattle in the wood, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, were left behind; and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather

A VIEW OF THE WATERING PLACE AT TENIAN.

was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we in about five days time returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival, we found that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis: for those we had left on shore began to despair of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and to restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have soon completed her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes.

These people we had left behind informed us, that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but, on the appearance of our ship, they crowded away, and were presently out of sight. And on this occasion I must mention an incident, which, though it happened during the first absence of the ship, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the course of the narration.

It hath been already observed, that a part of the detachment, sent to this island under the command of the Spanish serjeant, lay concealed in the woods; and we were the less solicitous to find them out, as our prisoners all assured us that it was impossible for them to get off, and consequently that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to sea, and left the commodore on shore, he one day, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island. In this expedition, being on a rising ground, they perceived in the valley beneath them the appearance of a small thicket, which, by observ-

ing more nicely, they found had a progressive motion: this at first surprised them; but they soon discovered that it was no more than several large cocoa bushes, which were dragged along the ground by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the serjeant's party (which was indeed true); and therefore the commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of finding out their retreat. The Indians soon perceived they were discovered, and hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. Anson was so near them, that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it down a precipice contrived for the conveniency of flight. They found here an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted sparibs of pork, which were excellent; and from what our people saw here, they concluded that the extraordinary appetite which they had found at this island, was not confined to themselves alone; for, it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repast considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and coconuts prepared ready for eating, and in a manner which plainly evinced that, with them too, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The commodore having in vain endeavoured to discover the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their present appetites; after which, they returned back to their old habitation, displeased at missing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our service, if they could have had any conference with them. But notwithstanding what our prisoners had asserted, we were afterwards assured, that these Indians were carried off to Guam long before we left the place. But to return to our history

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably in getting in our water; and having by the 20th of October completed it to fifty tons, which we supposed would be sufficient for our passage to Macao, we on the next day sent one of each mess on shore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, coco-nuts, and other fruits of the island, as they possibly could, for the use of themselves and their messmates when at sea. And these purveyors returning on board us on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the bark and proa, hoisted-in our boats, and got under sail, steering away for the south end of the island of Formosa, and taking our leave, for the third and last time, of the island of Tinian: an island, which, whether we consider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthiness of its air, or the adventures it gave rise to, may in all these views be truly styled romantic.

And now, postponing for a short time our run to Formosa, and thence to Canton, I shall interrupt the narration with a description of that range of islands, usually called the Ladrones, or Marian islands, of which this of Tinian is one.

These islands were discovered by Magellan in the year 1521: and by the account given of the two he first fell in with, it should seem that they were the islands of Saypan and Tinian; for they are described in his expedition as very beautiful islands, and as lying between fifteen and sixteen degrees of north latitude. These characteristics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleasing appearance of Tinian hath occasioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buena-vista; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15° 22′ north, affords no contemptible prospect when seen from the sea.

There are usually reckoned twelve of these islands; but it will appear that, if the small islets and rocks are counted in, then their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly most of them well inhabited; and, even not sixty years ago, the three principal islands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian together, are said to have contained above fifty thousand people: but since that time Tinian hath been entirely depopulated; and only two or three hundred Indians have been left at Rota, to cultivate rice for the island of Guam; so that now no more than Guam can properly be said to be inhabited. This island of Guam is the only settlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garrison, and here the Manilla ship generally touches for refreshment, in her passage from Acapulco to the Philippines. It is esteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the Spanish accounts, near four thousand inhabitants, of which a thousand are said to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agand, where the governor generally resides, and where the houses are represented as considerable, being built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for these warm climates and savage countries: besides this city, there are upon the island thirteen or fourteen villages. As this is a post of some consequence, on account of the refreshment it yields to the Manilla ship, there are two castles on the seashore; one is the castle of St. Angelo, which lies near the road, where the Manilla ship usually anchors; and is but an insignificant fortress, mounting only five guns, eight-pounders; the other is the castle of St. Lewis, which is N. E. from St. Angelo, and four leagues distant, and is intended to protect a road where a small vessel anchors, which arrives here every other year from Manilla. This fort mounts the same number of guns as the former: and besides

these forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the sea-shore. The Spanish troops employed on this island consist of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each; and this is the principal strength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use of fire-arms or lances.

The rest of these islands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreshment and provision; but there is no good harbour or road to be met with amongst them all: of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better; for it is not unusual for the Manilla ship, though she proposes to stay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to sea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience so sensibly felt by the commerce at Manilla, that it is always recommended to the governor of Guam to use his best endeavours for the discovery of some safe port in this part of the world. How industrious he may be to comply with his instructions, I know not; but this is certain, that notwithstanding the many islands already found out between the coast of Mexico and the Philippines, there is not yet known any one safe port in that whole tract; though in other parts of the world it is not uncommon for very small islands to furnish most excellent harbours.

From what has been said, it appears that the Spaniards, on the island of Guam are extremely few, compared with the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the disproportion was still greater, as may be easily conceived from what hath been said in another chapter, of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. These Indians are a bold well-limbed people; and it should seem from some of their practices, that they are no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proas in particular, which have been for ages

the only vessels used by them, are so singular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute. For if we consider the aptitude of this proa to the particular navigation of these islands, which lying all of them nearly under the same meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the vessels made use of in passing from one to the other, to be particularly fitted for sailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall in each of these articles find it worthy of our admiration, and meriting a place amongst the mechanical productions of the most civilized nations, where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished. As former navigators, though they have mentioned these vessels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and as I conceive that, besides their curiosity, they may furnish both the shipwright and seaman with no contemptible observations, I shall here insert a very exact description of the built, rigging, and working of these vessels, which I am well enabled to do; for one of them, as I have mentioned, fell into our hands at our first arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, on purpose to delineate its fabric and dimensions with greater accuracy: so that the following account may be relied on.

The name of flying proa, given to these vessels, is owing to the swiftness with which they sail. Of this the Spaniards assert such stories, as appear altogether incredible to those who have never seen these vessels move; nor are the Spaniards the only people who relate these extraordinary tales of their celerity. For those who shall have the curiosity to inquire at the dock at Portsmouth, about a trial made there some years since, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not less wonderful than any the Spaniards have given. How-

ever, from some rude estimations made by our people, of the velocity with which they crossed the horizon at a distance, while we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing, that with a brisk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour; which though greatly short of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of swiftness. But let us give a distinct idea of its figure.

The construction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the rest of mankind. For as the rest of the world make the head of their vessels different from the stern, but the two sides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different; the side intended to be always the lee-side, being flat; and the windward-side made rounding, in the manner of other vessels: and, to prevent her oversetting, which from her small breadth, and the straight run of her leeward-side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log, fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow: the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the small boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her oversetting to windward; and this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at least of that we took) is made of two pieces joined end-ways, and sewed together with bark, for there is no iron used about her: she is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one.

CHAP. XVI.

From Tinian to Macao.

On the 21st of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the island of Tinian, steering the proper course for Macao in China. The eastern monsoon was now, we reckoned, fairly settled; and we had a constant gale blowing right upon our stern: so that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow sea pursuing us, which occasioned the ship to labour much; whence we received great damage in our rigging, which was grown very rotten, and our leak was augmented: but happily for us, our people were now in full health; so that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ship, with ease and cheerfulness.

Having now no other but our sheet-anchor left, except our prize-anchors, which were stowed in the hold and were too light to be depended on, we were under great concern how we should manage on the coast of China, where we were all entire strangers, and where we should doubtless be frequently under the necessity of coming to an anchor. Our sheet-anchor being obviously much too heavy for a coasting anchor, it was at length resolved to fix two of our largest prize anchors into one stock, and to place between their shanks two guns, four pounders; which was accordingly executed, and it was to serve as a best bower: and a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined with our stream-anchor, with guns between them, we thereby made a small bower; so that, besides our sheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we saw an island, which at first we imagined to be the island of Botel Tobago Xima: but on our nearer approach we found it to be much smaller than that is usually represented; and about an hour after we saw another island, five or six miles further to the westward. As no chart, nor any journal we had seen, took notice of any other island to the eastward of Formosa, than Botel Tobago Xima, and as we had no observation of our latitude at noon, we were in some perplexity, being apprehensive that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Bashee islands; and therefore, when night came on, we brought-to, and continued in this posture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy, for some time prolonged our uncertainty; but it cleared up about nine o'clock, when we again discerned the two islands above mentioned: we then pressed forwards to the westward, and by eleven got sight of the southern part of the island of Formosa. This satisfied us that the second island we saw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the first a small island or rock, lying five or six miles due east from it, which not being mentioned by any of our books or charts was the occasion of our fears.

When we got sight of the island of Formosa, we steered W. by S., in order to double its extremity, and keep a good look-out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not see till two in the afternoon. They then bore from us W. N. W., three miles distant, the south end of Formosa at the same time bearing N. by W. ½ W., about five leagues distant. To give these rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up S. by W., and so left them between us and the land. Indeed, we had reason to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ship's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all sides, and there is a shoal stretching from them at least a mile and a half to the southward, whence they

may be truly called dangerous. The course from Botel Tobago Xima to these rocks is S. W. by W., and the distance about twelve or thirteen leagues: and the south end of Formosa, off which they lie, is in the latitude of 21° 50′ north, and in 23° 50′ west longitude from Tinian, according to our most approved reckonings, though by some of our accounts above a degree more.

While we were passing by these rocks of Vele Rete, there was an outcry of fire on the fore-castle: this occasioned a general alarm, and the whole crew instantly flocked together in the utmost confusion, so that the officers found it difficult for some time to appease the uproar: but having at last reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace; and pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguished with great facility, for it had taken its rise from the bricks, which, being overheated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work. In the evening we were surprised with a view of what we at first sight conceived to be breakers, but, on a stricter examination, we found them to be only a great number of fires on the island of Formosa. These, we imagined, were intended by the inhabitants of that island as signals for us to touch there; but that suited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as soon as possible. From Formosa we steered W. N. W., and sometimes still more northerly, proposing to fall-in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco; for the rock so called is usually esteemed an excellent direction for ships bound to Macao. We continued this course till the following night, and then frequently brought-to, to try if we were in soundings: but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we struck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom, and a bottom of gray sand mixed with shells. When we had got about twenty miles further W. N. W., we had thirty-five fathom and the same

bottom, from whence our soundings gradually decreased from thirty-five to twenty-five fathom; but soon after, to our great surprise, they jumped back again to thirty fathom: this was an alteration we could not very well account for, since all the charts laid down regular soundings every where to the northward of Pedro Blanco; and for this reason we kept a very careful look-out, and altered our course to N.N.W.; and having run thirty-five miles in this direction, our soundings again gradually diminished to twenty-two fathom, and we at last, about midnight, got sight of the main land of China, bearing N. by W., four leagues distant: we then brought the ship to, with her head to the sea, proposing to wait for the morning; and before sun-rise we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. I may well style their number incredible, since I cannot believe, upon the lowest estimate, that there were so few as six thousand, most of them manned with five hands, and none of those we saw with less than three. Nor was this swarm of fishing-vessels peculiar to this spot; for, as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coast. We at first doubted not but we should procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came close to the ship, and we endeavoured to tempt them by showing them a number of dollars, a most alluring bait for Chinese of all ranks and professions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I presume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, for we could have no communication with them but by signs: indeed, we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reason to suppose they understood in a different sense; for in return they sometimes held up fish to us, and we afterwards learnt,

that the Chinese name for fish is of a somewhat similar sound. But what surprised us most was the inattention and want of curiosity which we observed in this herd of fishermen: a ship like ours had doubtless never been in those seas before; perhaps, there might not be one, amongst all the Chinese employed in this fishery, who had ever seen any European vessel; so that we might reasonably have expected to have been considered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object: but though many of their vessels came close to the ship, yet they did not appear to be at all interested about us, nor did they deviate in the least from their course to regard us; which insensibility, especially in maritime persons, about a matter in their own profession, is scarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chinese, in other instances, furnish us with continual proofs of a similar turn of mind: it may perhaps be doubted, whether this cast of temper be the effect of nature or education; but, in either case, it is an incontestable symptom of a mean and contemptible disposition, and is alone a sufficient confutation of the extravagant panegyrics, which many hypothetical writers have bestowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this nation. But to return:

Not being able to procure any information from the Chinese fishermen about our proper course to Macao, it was necessary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment; and concluding from our latitude, which was 22° 42′ north, and from our soundings, which were only seventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, we stood to the westward: and for the assistance of future navigators, who may hereafter doubt about the parts of the coast they are upon, I must observe, that besides the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is 22° 18′, and the depth of water, which to the westward of that rock is almost every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumstance which will give

great assistance in judging of the position of the ship: this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had constantly a sandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to soft and muddy, and continued so quite to the island of Macao; only while we were in sight of Pedro Blanco and very near it, we had for a short space a bottom of greenish mud, intermixed with sand.

It was on the 5th of November, at midnight, when we first made the coast of China; and the next day, about two o'clock, as we were standing to the westward within two leagues of the coast, and still surrounded by fishing-vessels in as great numbers as at first, we perceived that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn: this we considered as a signal made to us, either to warn us of some shoal, or to inform us that they would supply us with a pilot, and in this belief we immediately sent our cutter to the boat, to know their intentions; but were soon made sensible of our mistake, and found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fishery, and that the signal she had made was to order them all to leave off fishing, and to return in-shore; which we saw them instantly obey. On this disappointment we kept on our course, and soon after passed by two very small rocks, which lay four or five miles distant from the shore; but night came on before we got sight of Pedro Blanco, and we therefore brought-to till the morning, when we had the satisfaction to discover it. It is a rock of a small circumference, but of a moderate height, and both in shape and colour resembles a sugar-loaf, and is about seven or eight miles from the shore. We passed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, still keeping on to the westward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breast of a chain of islands which stretched from east to west. These, as we afterwards found, were called the islands of Lema;

they are rocky and barren, and are in all, small and great, fifteen or sixteen; and there are, besides, a great number of other islands between them and the main land of China.

These islands we left on the starboard-side, passing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathom water. We were still surrounded by fishing-boats; and we once more sent the cutter on board one of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but could not prevail: however, one of the Chinese directed us by signs to sail round the westernmost of the islands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom; at which time this westernmost island bore S. S. E. five miles distant, and the grand Ladrone W. by S., about two leagues distant. The westernmost of these islands of Lema is a most excellent direction for ships coming from the eastward: its latitude is 21° 52′ N., and it bears from Pedro Blanco S. 64° W., distant twenty-one leagues. You are to leave it on the starboard-side, and you may come within half a mile of it in eighteen-fathom water: and then you must steer N. by W. ½ W. for the channel between the islands of Cabouce and Bamboo, which are to the northward of the grand Ladrone.

After having continued at anchor all night, we on the 9th, at four in the morning, sent our cutter to sound the channel where we proposed to pass; but before the return of the cutter a Chinese pilot put on board us, and told us, in broken Portuguese, he would carry us to Macao for thirty dollars: these were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail; and soon after, several other pilots came on board us, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the captains of several ships they had piloted in; but we continued the ship under the management of the Chinese who came

first on board. By this time we learnt that we were not far distant from Macao, and that there were in the river of Canton, at rhe mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ships, of which four were English.

Our pilot carried us between the islands of Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor, so that we did not get through between the two islands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. In passing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathom; and as we still steered on N. by W. ½ W., between a number of other islands, our soundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increased to seventeen fathom; in which depth (the wind dying away) we anchored not far from the island of Lantoon, which is the largest of all this range of islands. At seven in the morning we weighed again, and steering W. S. W. and S. W. by W., we at ten o'clock happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathom water, the city of Macao bearing W. by N., three leagues distant; the peak of Lantoon E. by N., and the grand Ladrone S. by E., each of them about five leagues distant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruise of above two years continuance, we once more arrived in an amicable port, in a civilized country; where the convenciencies of life were in great plenty; where the naval stores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in some degree procured; where we expected the inexpressible satisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be capable of answering the numerous inquiries we were prepared to make, both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be listened to by us with the utmost attention, after the long sus-

pension of our correspondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto subjected us.

CHAP. XVII.

Proceedings at Macao.

THE city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portuguese settlement, situated in an island at the mouth of the river of Canton, which is the only Chinese port frequented by European ships; and this river is indeed a more commodious harbour, on many accounts, than Macao. But the peculiar customs of the Chinese, only adapted to the entertainment of trading ships, and the apprehensions of the commodore, lest he should embroil the East-India company with the regency of Canton if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him resolve to go first to Macao before he ventured into the port of Canton. Indeed, had not this reason prevailed with him, he himself had nothing to fear: for it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleased, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the Chinese empire had been brought together to oppose him.

The commodore, not to depart from his usual prudence, no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he dispatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese governor of Macao, requesting his excellency, by the same officer, to advise him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chinese; which, as there were then four of our ships in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty which the com-

modore principally apprehended related to the duty usually paid by all ships in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage. For, as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country to submit to this duty in China: and therefore he desired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being an European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a British man of war, and consequently might be expected to give us the best lights for avoiding this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers sent by the governor, who informed the commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton the duty would certainly be demanded; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot, who should conduct us into another safe harbour called the Typa, which was every way commodious for careening the ship, (an operation we were resolved to begin upon as soon as possible,) and where the abovementioned duty would, in all probability, be never asked for.

This proposal the commodore agreed to, and in the morning we weighed anchor, and, under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, steered for the intended harbour. As we entered two islands, which form the eastern passage to it, we found our soundings decreased to three fathom and a half: but the pilot assuring us that this was the least depth we should meet with, we continued our course, till at length the ship stuck fast in the mud, with only eighteen feet water abaft; and, the tide of ebb making, the water sewed to sixteen feet, but the ship remained perfectly upright: we then sounded all round us; and finding the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our small bower with two hawsers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood hove the ship afloat; and a small breeze springing up at the same instant, we

set the fore-top-sail, and slipping the hawser ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of islands, and is about six miles distant from Macao. Here we saluted the castle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the commodore paid a visit in person to the governor, and was saluted at his landing by eleven guns; which were returned by the Centurion. Mr. Anson's business in this visit was to solicit the governor to grant us a supply of provisions, and to furnish us with such stores as were necessary to refit the ship. The governor seemed really inclined to do us all the service he could; and assured the commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the assistance in his power; but he, at the same time, frankly owned, that he dared not openly furnish us with any thing we demanded, unless we first procured an order for it from the viceroy of Canton, for that he neither received provisions for his garrison nor any other necessaries, but by permission from the Chinese government; and as they took care only to furnish him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vassal, whom they could at all times compel to submit to their own terms, only by laying an embargo on his provisions.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr. Anson resolved himself to go to Canton, to procure a license from the viceroy; and he accordingly hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but just as he was ready to embark, the hoppo or Chinese custom-house officer at Macao refused to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed, at their peril. The commodore at first endeavoured to prevail with the hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his interest with the hoppo to the same purpose. Mr. Anson, finding the officer inflexible, told him, the next day, that

if he longer refused to grant the permit, he would man and arm his own boats to carry him thither; asking the hoppo, at the same time, who he imagined would dare to oppose him. This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had laboured for in vain: the permit was granted, and Mr. Anson went to Canton. On his arrival there, he consulted with the supercargoes and officers of the English ships, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the necessaries he wanted: but in this he had reason to suppose, that the advice they gave him, though doubtless well intended, was yet not the most prudent: for, as it is the custom with these gentlemen, never to apply to the supreme magistrate himself, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to transact all matters relating to the government, by the mediation of the principal Chinese merchants, Mr. Anson was advised to follow the same method upon this occasion, the English promising (in which they were doubtless sincere) to exert all their interest to engage the merchants in his favour. And when the Chinese merchants were applied to, they readily undertook the management of it, and promised to answer for its success; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuses, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing the business, they at last, (being pressed, and measures being taken for delivering a letter to the viceroy) threw off the mask, and declared they neither had applied to the viceroy, nor could they; for he was too great a man, they said, for them to approach on any occasion: and not contented with having themselves thus grossly deceived the commodore, they now used all their persuasion with the English at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him; representing to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the government, and occasion them a great deal of unnecessary trouble; which

groundless insinuations had indeed but too much weight with those they were applied to.

It may be difficult to assign a reason for this perfidious conduct of the Chinese merchants; interest indeed is known to exert a boundless influence over the inhabitants of that empire; but how their interest could be affected in the present case is not easy to discover; unless they apprehended that the presence of a ship of force might damp their Manilla trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the commodore to Batavia: but it might be as natural in this light to suppose, that they would have been eager to have got him dispatched. I therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled pusillanimity of the nation, and to the awe they are under of the government: for as such a ship as the Centurion, fitted for war only, had never been seen in those parts before, she was the horror of these dastards, and the merchants were in some degree terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the viceroy (who is doubtless fond of all opportunities of fleecing them) without representing to themselves the pretences which a hungry and tyrannical magistrate might possibly find, for censuring their intermeddling in so unusual a transaction, in which he might pretend the interest of the state was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the commodore was satisfied that nothing was to be done by the interposition of the merchants, as it was on his pressing them to deliver a letter to the viceroy, that they had declared they durst not intermeddle, and had confessed that, notwithstanding all their pretences of serving him, they had not yet taken one step towards it. Mr. Anson therefore told them, that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ship there; but informed them, at the same time, that this was impossible to be done, unless he was supplied with a stock of provisions sufficient for his passage. The merchants, on

this, undertook to procure him provisions, but assured him, that it was what they durst not engage in openly, but proposed to manage it in a clandestine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flower, and other provision on board the English ships, which were now ready to sail; and these were to stop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants represented as a matter of great favour, being settled, the commodore on the 16th of December returned from Canton to the ship, seemingly resolved to proceed to Batavia to refit, as soon as he should get his supplies of provision on board.

But Mr. Anson (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main-mast was sprung in two places, and that the leak was considerably increased; so that, upon the whole, he was fully satisfied, that though he should lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, yet it would be impossible for him to put to sea without refitting: for, if he left the port with his ship in her present condition, she would be in the utmost danger of foundering; and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties he had met with, he resolved at all events to have her hove down before he left Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had observed at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the East India Company's affairs, and the regard he had shown to the advice of their officers, had occasioned all his embarrasments. For he now saw clearly, that if he had at first carried his ship into the river of Canton, and had immediately applied himself to the mandarines, who are the chief officers of state, instead of employing the merchants to apply for him, he would, in all probability, have had all his requests granted, and would have been soon dispatched. He had already lost a month, by the wrong measures he had been put upon, but he resolved to lose as little more time as possible; and therefore, the 17th of Decem-

ber, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him, that he was commander in chief of a squadron of his Britannic majesty's ships of war, which had been cruising for two years past in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at war with the king his master; that in his way back to England he had put into the port of Macao, having a considerable leak in his ship, and being in great want of provisions, so that it was impossible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ship was repaired and he was supplied with the necessaries he wanted; that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a personal audience of his excellency: but being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had not been able to inform himself what steps were necessary to be taken to procure such an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply to him in this manner, to desire his excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, thereby to enable him to pursue his voyage to Great Britain with this monsoon; hoping, at the same time, that these orders would be issued with as little delay as possible, lest it might occasion his loss of the season, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was translated into the Chinese language, and the commodore delivered it himself to the hoppo or chief officer of the emperor's customs at Macao, desiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton with as much expedition as he could. The officer at first seemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raised many difficulties about it, so that Mr. Anson suspected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always shown a great apprehension of the commodore's having any immediate intercourse with the viceroy or mandarines; and therefore the commodore, with some re-

sentment, took back his letter from the hoppo, and told him, he would immediately send an officer with it to Canton in his own boat, and would give him positive orders not to return without an answer from the viceroy. The hoppo perceiving the commodore to be in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be intrusted with the letter, and promised to deliver it, and to procure an answer as soon as possible. And now it was soon seen how justly Mr. Anson had at last judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chinese; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already observed, and on the 19th in the morning a mandarine of the first rank, who was governor of the city of Janson, together with two mandarines of an inferior class, and a great retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half galleys decorated with a great number of streamers, and furnished with music, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the Centurion; whence the mandarine sent a message to the commodore, telling him, that he (the mandarine) was ordered, by the viceroy of Canton, to examine the condition of the ship, and desiring the ship's boat might be sent to fetch him on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately dispatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; for a hundred of the most sightly of the crew were uniformly drest in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, against his arrival. When he entered the ship he was saluted by the drums, and what other military music there was on board; and passing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the mandarine explained his commission, declaring that his business was to examine all the particulars mentioned in the commodore's letter to the viceroy, and to confront them with the representation that had been given of them;

that he was particularly instructed to inspect the leak, and had for that purpose brought with him two Chinese carpenters; and that for the greater regularity and dispatch of his business, he had every head of inquiry separately written down on a sheet of paper, with a void space opposite to it, where he was to insert such information and remarks thereon, as he could procure by his own observation.

This mandarine appeared to be a person of very considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the proper inquiries had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be as dangerous as it had been represented, and consequently that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted, the mandarine expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. And this magistrate, as he was more intelligent than any other person of his nation that came to our knowledge, so likewise was he more curious and inquisitive, viewing each part of the ship with particular attention, and appearing greatly surprised at the largeness of the lower-deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot. The commodore observing his astonishment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting him a speedy and ample supply of all he wanted: with this view he told the mandarine, and those who were with him, that, besides the demands he made for a general supply, he had a particular complaint against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao; that at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and a variety of fresh provisions for daily use, for which they had always been paid to their full satisfaction, but that the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbidden them, by which means he was deprived of those refreshments which were of the utmost conse-

quence to the health of his men, after their long and sickly voyage; that as they, the mandarines, had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not for want of power to supply himself, that he desired the permission of the government to purchase what provisions he stood in need of; that they must be convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the least risque from all the force the Chinese could collect; that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other, but it was likewise true, that it was not customary for any nation to permit the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports, when those friends had money to supply their wants, and only desired liberty to lay it out; that they must confess, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve, but that, as his wants were each day increasing, hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint, and necessity was acknowledged in all countries to be superior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witnesses: to this the commodore added, (though perhaps with a less serious air) that if by the delay of supplying him with provision his men should be reduced to the necessity of turning cannibals, and preying upon their own species, it was easy to be foreseen that, independent of their friendship to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well-fed Chinese to their own emaciated ship-mates. The first mandarine acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and told the commodore, that he should that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival, a

council of mandarines would be summoned, of which he himself was a member, and that, by being employed in the present commission, he was of course the commodore's advocate; that, as he was fully convinced of the urgency of Mr. Anson's necessity, he did not doubt, but on his representation the council would be of the same opinion; and that all that was demanded would be amply and speedily granted: and with regard to the commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, he undertook to rectify that immediately by his own authority; for, desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provisions necessary for the expense of the ship for a day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; and this order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the commodore invited him and his two attendant mandarines to dinner, telling them at the same time, that if his provision, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr. Anson was not apprised of it: this seems to be derived from the Indian superstition, which for some ages past has made a great progress in China. However, his guests did not entirely fast; for the three mandarines completely finished the white part of four large fowls. But they were extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them: so that after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, which were sufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be

novices in drinking. The commodore excused himself in this part of the entertainment, under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief mandarine clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving that, after they had dispatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the mandarine still continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought up, which the Chinese seemed much to relish; and this being near finished, they arose from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drunk; and the commodore having, according to custom, made the mandarine a present, they all departed in the same vessels that brought them.

After their departure, the commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the council, and the necessary licences for his refitment. For it must be observed, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that he could neither purchase stores nor necessaries with his money, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves to work for him, without the permission of the government first obtained. And in the execution of these particular injunctions, the magistrates never fail of exercising great severity, they, notwithstanding the fustian eulogiums bestowed upon them by the catholic missionaries and their European copiers, being composed of the same fragile materials with the rest of mankind, and often making use of the authority of the law, not to suppress crimes, but to enrich themselves by the pillage of those who commit them; for capital punishments are rare in China, the effeminate genius of the nation, and their strong attachment to lucre, disposing them rather to make use of fines; and hence arises no inconsiderable profit to those who

compose their tribunals: consequently prohibitions of all kinds, particularly such as the alluring prospect of great profit may often tempt the subject to infringe, cannot but be favourite institutions in such a government. But to return:

Some time before this, captain Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, and was charged with dispatches from the commodore; and soon after, in the month of December, captain Mitchel, colonel Cracherode, and Mr. Tassel, one of the agent-victuallers, with his nephew Mr. Charles Herriot, embarked on board some of our company's ships; and I, having obtained the commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I must observe too, (having omitted it before,) that whilst we lay here at Macao, we were informed by some of the officers of our Indiamen, that the Severn and Pearl, the two ships of our squadron, which had separated from us off cape Noir, were safely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coast of Brazil. I have formerly taken notice, that at the time of their separation we apprehended them to be lost. And there were many reasons which greatly favoured this suspicion: for we knew that the Severn in particular was extremely sickly; and this was the more obvious to the rest of the ships, as, in the preceding part of the voyage, her commander, captain Legg, had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his station, till, for the last ten days before his separation, his crew was so diminished and enfeebled, that with his utmost efforts it was not possible for him to maintain his proper position with his wonted exactness. The extraordinary sickness on board him was by many imputed to the ship, which was new, and on that account was believed to be the more unhealthy; but whatever was the cause of it, the Severn was by much the most sickly of the squadron: for before her departure from St. Catherine's she buried more

men than any of them, insomuch that the commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of fresh hands; and, the mortality still continuing on board her, she was supplied with men a second time at sea, after our setting sail from St. Julian's; and notwithstanding these different reinforcements, she was at last reduced to the distressed condition I have already mentioned; so that the commodore himself was firmly persuaded she was lost; and therefore it was with great joy we received the news of hers and the Pearl's safety, after the strong persuasion, which had so long prevailed amongst us, of their having both perished. But to proceed with the transactions between Mr. Anson and the Chinese.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the mandarine governor of Janson, at his leaving Mr. Anson, several days were elapsed before he had any advice from him; and Mr. Anson was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair; partly perhaps owing to its being so unusual a case, and in part to the influence, as I suppose, of the intrigues of the French at Canton: for they had a countryman and fast friend residing on the spot, who spoke the language very well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the persons of several of the magistates, and consequently could not be at a loss for means of traversing the assistance desired by Mr. Anson. And this opposition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice or contrariety of political interests, but was in good measure owing to their vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind, than any attachment to the public service of their community: for, the French pretending their India-men to be men of war, their officers were apprehensive that any distinction granted to Mr. Anson, on account of his bearing the king's commission, would render them less considerable in the eyes of the Chi-

nese, and would establish a prepossession at Canton in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would suffer in their importance: and I wish the affectation of endeavouring to pass for men of war, and the fear of sinking in the estimation of the Chinese, if the Centurion was treated in a different manner from themselves, had been confined to the officers of the French ships only. However, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it should seem, that the representation of the commodore to the mandarines of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, had at last its effect: for on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janson, the commodore's advocate, sent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for supplying her people with all they wanted; and the next day a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board, to agree for all the work by the great. They demanded at first to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling for the necessary repairs of the ship, the boats, and the masts: this the commodore seemed to think an unreasonable sum, and endeavoured to persuade them to work by the day; but that proposal they would not hearken to; so it was at last agreed, that the carpenters should have to the amount of about six hundred pounds for their work; and that the smiths should be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the small work, and forty-six shillings for the large.

This being regulated, the commodore exerted himself to get this most important business completed; I mean, the heaving down the Centurion, and examining the state of her bottom: for this purpose the first lieutenant was dispatched to Canton to hire two country vessels, called in their language junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the powder and am-

munition: at the same time the ground was smoothed on one of the neighbouring islands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near a hundred Chinese caulkers were soon set to work on the decks and sides of the ship. But all these preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chinese caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious; and it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived; and the necessary materials, which were to be purchased at Canton, came down very slowly; partly from the distance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardness of the Chinese merchants. And in this interval Mr. Anson had the additional perplexity to discover that his fore-mast was broken asunder above the upper deck partners, and was only kept together by the fishes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the Centurion's people made the most of their time, and exerted themselves the best they could; and as, by clearing the ship, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to secure that effectually, whilst the other preparations were going forwards. The leak was found to be below the fifteen foot mark, and was principally occasioned by one of the bolts being wore away and loose in the joining of the stem where it was scarfed.

At last, all things being prepared, they on the 22d of February, in the morning, hove out the first course of the Centurion's starboard side, and had the satisfaction to find that her bottom appeared sound and good; and the next day (having by that time completed the new sheathing of the first course) they righted her again, to set up anew the careening rigging, which stretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ship from a suspicion of their careening tackle, till the 3d of March, when, having completed the paying and

sheathing the bottom, which proved to be every where very sound, they, for the last time, righted the ship to their great joy; for not only the fatigue of careening had been considerable, but they had been apprehensive of being attacked by the Spaniards whilst the ship was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundless; for they learnt afterwards, by a Portuguese vessel, that the Spaniards at Manilla had been informed that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the governor had summoned his council, and had proposed to them to endeavour to burn her whilst she was careening, which was an enterprize, which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger: they were further told, that this scheme was not only proposed, but resolved on; and that a captain of a vessel had actually undertaken to perform the business for forty thousand dollars, which he was not to receive unless he succeeded; but the governor pretending that there was no treasure in the royal chest, and insisting that the merchants should advance the money, and they refusing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped: perhaps the merchants suspected that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thousand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by some who bore the governor no good will, but with what truth it is difficult to ascertain.

As soon as the Centurion was righted, they took in her powder, and gunner's stores, and proceeded in getting in their guns as fast as possible, and then used their utmost expedition in repairing the foremast, and in completing the other articles of her refitment. And being thus employed, they were alarmed, on the 10th of March, by a Chinese fisherman, who brought them intelligence that he had been on board a large Spanish ship off the grand Ladrone, and that there were two more in company with her:

he added several particulars to his relation; as that he had brought one of their officers to Macao, and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from Macao to them: and the better to establish the belief of his veracity, he said he desired no money if his information should not prove true. This was presently believed to be the fore-mentioned expedition from Manilla; and the commodore immediately fitted his cannon and small arms in the best manner he could for defence; and having then his pinnace and cutter in the offing, who had been ordered to examine a Portuguese vessel, which was getting under sail, he sent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out strictly: but no such ships ever appeared, and they were soon satisfied that the whole of the story was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reason could induce the fellow to be at such extraordinary pains to impose on them.

It was the beginning of April before they had new-rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and before this time the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. On the 3d of April, two mandarine boats came on board from Macao to urge his departure; and this having been often done before, though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr. Anson of any affected delays, he at this last message answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not before. On this rebuke the Chinese, though it was not in their power to compel him to be gone, immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care that their injunctions should be complied with, that from that

time forwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

On the 6th of April the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; and by the 15th she was got into Macao road, completing her water as she passed along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to: and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made sail, and stood to sea.

CHAP. XVIII.

From Macao to Cape Espiritu Santo—The taking of the Manilla Galeon, and returning back again.

THE commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: his crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of which were Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his people, he had persuaded not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature: for he knew, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla, there would be this year, in all

probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore resolved to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty-four guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: but this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manilla galeons.

This project the commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts, ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension, lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galeons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret; for, there being a great intercourse and a mutual connexion of interests between that port and Manilla, he had reason to fear that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manilla, and measures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands: but being now at sea and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manilla ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should

choose a station where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize: he further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: for his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both. This speech of the commodore's was received by his people with great joy; for no sooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself. And now their hopes, which since their departure from the coast of Mexico had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all persuaded themselves that, notwithstanding the various casualties and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy; for, firmly relying on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they considered themselves as having them already in their possession. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company, that the commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea

with him for his own provision, and one day inquiring of his butcher, why for some time past he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the butcher very seriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the general of the galeons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward; and on the first of May they saw part of the island of Formosa; and standing thence to the southward, they on the 4th of May were in the latitude of the Bashee islands, as laid down by Dampier; but they suspected his account of inaccuracy, as they found that he had been considerably mistaken in the latitude of the south end of Formosa: for this reason they kept a good look-out, and about seven in the evening discovered from the mast-head five small islands, which were judged to be the Bashees, and they had afterwards a sight of Botel Tobago Xima. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the position of the Bashee islands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the westward: for by their observations they esteemed the middle of these islands to be in 21° 4′ north, and to bear from Botel Tobago Xima S. S. E. twenty leagues distant, that island itself being in 21° 57′ north.

After getting a sight of the Bashee islands, they stood between the S. and S. W. for Cape Espiritu Santo; and the 20th of May at noon they first discovered that cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S. S. W., about eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it. As it was known that there were sentinels placed upon this cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first falls in with the land, the commodore immediately tacked,

and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered; and this being the station in which it was resolved to cruise for the galeons, they kept the cape between the south and the west, and endeavoured to confine themselves between the latitude of 12° 50′, and 13° 5′, the cape itself lying, by their observations, in 12° 40′ north, and in 4° of east longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.

It was the last of May when they arrived off this cape; and the month of June, by the old style, being that in which the Manilla ships are usually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy crisis which was to balance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all convenient seasons during the whole course of his voyage: and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompense for all his care and attention. Indeed, it should seem that there are few particulars of a commander's duty of more importance than this, how much soever it may have been sometimes overlooked or misunderstood: for it will, I suppose, be confessed, that in two ships of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the disproportion of strength arising from a greater or less dexterity in the use of their great guns and small arms is what can scarcely be balanced by any other circumstances whatever. For, as these are the weapons with which they are to engage, what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one side should perfectly understand the use of their weapons, and should have the skill to employ them in the most effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy, while the other

side should, by their awkward management of them, render them rather terrible to themselves than mischievous to their antagonists? This seems so plain and natural a conclusion, that a person unacquainted with these affairs would suppose the first care of a commander to be the training his people to the use of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain dictates of common sense. There are many other principles which influence our transactions: and there is one in particular, which, though of a very erroneous complexion, is scarcely ever excluded from our most serious deliberations; I mean custom, or the practice of those who have preceded us. This is usually a power too mighty for reason to grapple with; and is the most terrible to those who oppose it, as it has much of superstition in its nature, and pursues all those who question its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in these later ages of the world some lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may reasonably be hoped that the gentlemen of the navy, whose particular profession hath of late been considerably improved by a number of new inventions, will of all others be the readiest to give up those practices which have nothing to plead but prescription, and will not suppose that every branch of their business hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed, it must be owned, that if a dexterity in the use of small arms, for instance, hath been sometimes less attended to on board our ships of war than might have been wished for, it hath been rather owing to unskilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence; for the common sailors, how strongly soever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick-sighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever shown a great contempt for the formalities practised in the training of land troops to the use of

their arms: but when those who have undertaken to instruct the seamen have contented themselves with inculcating only what was useful, and that in the simplest manner, they have constantly found their people sufficiently docile, and the success hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr. Anson's ship, where they were only taught the shortest method of loading with cartridges, and were constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was usually hung at the yard-arm, and where some little reward was given to the most expert, the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely skilful, quick in loading, all of them good marksmen, and some of them most extraordinary ones; so that I doubt not but, in the use of small arms, they were more than a match for double their number who had not been habituated to the same kind of exercise. But to return:

It was the last of May N. S., as hath been already said, when the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo; and consequently the next day began the month in which the galeons were to be expected. The commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long-boat, and lashed her along-side, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons in the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape, as not to be discovered: but it hath been since learnt, that, notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manilla, where it was at first disbelieved; but on reiterated intelligence, for it seems he was seen more than once, the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her sta-

tion: and some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the governor disagreed, and the enterprise was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the Centurion from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; for the pitch of the cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the commodore's people each day increased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board; as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruize, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

"May 31, Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with the galeons very soon; this being the eleventh of June their style."

"June 3, Keeping in our stations, and looking out for the galeons."

"June 5, Begin now to be in great expectation, this being the middle of June their style."

"June 11, Begin to grow impatient at not seeing the galeons."

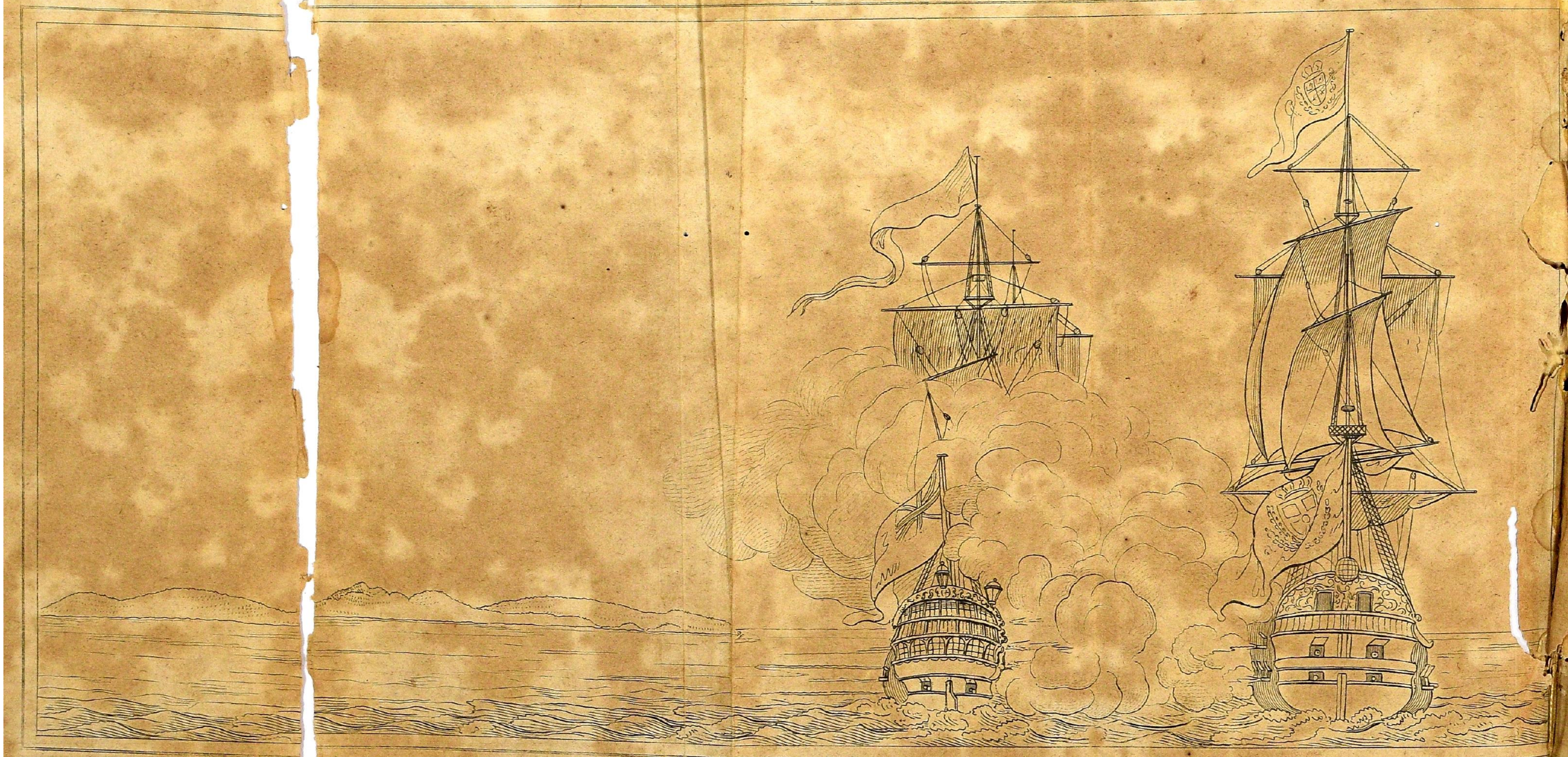
"June 13, The wind having blown fresh easterly for the forty-eight hours past, gives us great expectations of seeing the galeons soon."

"June 15, Cruising on and off, and looking out strictly."

"June 19, This being the last day of June N. S., the galeons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon."

From these samples it is sufficiently evident, how completely the treasure of the galeons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruize, when the certainty of the arrival of these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June O. S., being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty; when, at sun-rise, they discovered a sail from the mast-head in the S. E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected soon to see the other. The commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The commodore was surprised to find, that in all this time the galeon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the commodore was little more than a league distant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galeon haled up her foresail, and brought-to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant-mast-head. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken all possible care, both for the most effectual exertion of



CAPE ESPIRIT SANTO, ON SAMAL, ONE OF THE PHILLIPPINES, BEARING W. S. W. DISTANT 6 LEAGUES, AND THE CENTURION ENGAGING THE SPANISH GALEON.

his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, while the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, which were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and instead of firing broadsides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages; for it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns and fire with great briskness, till another broadside is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galeon from their sight; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying-to; and towards one o'clock the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing over-board cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chase-guns, to embarrass them in their work, and prevent them from completing it,

though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within pistol-shot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her stern-chase; and the Centurion getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards in a bravado rigged their sprit-sail-yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after the Centurion came abreast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and for the first half-hour Mr. Anson over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports, he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galeon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately, on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the commodore, for he feared lest the galeon should be burnt, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him: but the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames into the sea. But still the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galeon's decks lay open to her topmen, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the galeon himself. And though the Centurion, after the first half-hour, lost her original situation, and was close along-side the galeon, and the

enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded was so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarrassment was visible from on board the commodore. For the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with great assiduity, to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters: but all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galeon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant-mast-head, the person who was employed to do it having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by the general don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion, had five hundred and fifty men and thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight pidreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two-inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half pikes. She had sixty-seven killed

in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been for at least eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: for no sooner had the galeon struck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr. Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing it, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. It seems some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, whereby a quantity of oakum in the after hatch-way, near the after powder-room, was set on fire; and the great smother and smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire. At the same instant too, the galeon fell on board the Centurion on the starboard quarter, but she was cleared without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

The commodore made his first lieutenant, Mr. Saumarez, captain of this prize, appointing her a post-ship in his majesty's service. Captain Saumarez, before night, sent on board the Centurion all the Spanish prisoners, but such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galeon. And now the commodore learnt, from some of these prisoners, that the other ship which he had

kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manilla long before the Centurion arrived off Espiritu Santo; so that Mr. Anson, notwithstanding his present success, had great reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes instead of one.

The commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galeon into the Centurion. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, much bad weather might be expected, it was of great consequence that the treasure should be sent on board the Centurion, which ship, by the presence of the commander in chief, the greater number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtless much safer against all the casualties of winds and seas than the galeon: and the securing the prisoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the possession of the treasure but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the commodore much trouble and disquietude; for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from rising was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold; where, to give them

as much air as possible, two hatchways were left open; but then, to avoid all danger whilst the Centurion's people should be employed upon the deck, there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which inclosed each hatchway on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck: these funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and at the same time added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel guns loaded with musquet-bullets were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a sentinel with lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, which amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a constant guard of six men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the commodore's cabin with a sentinel always with him; and they were all informed, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his clothes, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the commodore and his people would have been exposed, had they been less careful. Indeed, the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathsome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient

to keep them alive, it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this considered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who died the same night they were taken; though it must be confessed that the greatest part of them were strangely metamorphosed by the heat of the hold; for when they were first taken, they were sightly robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons; and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the commodore, as hath been said, stood for the river of Canton; and on the 30th of June, at six in the evening, got sight of Cape Delangano, which then bore west ten leagues distant; and the next day he made the Bashee islands; and the wind being so far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand through between Grafton and Monmouth islands, where the passage seemed to be clear: but in getting through, the sea had a very dangerous aspect, for it rippled and foamed, as if it had been full of breakers, which was still more terrible, as it was then night. But the ships got through very safe, (the prize always keeping ahead,) and it was found that the appearance which had alarmed them had been occasioned only by a strong tide. I must here observe, that though the Bashee islands are usually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the westward, which, as the channels amongst them are not at all known, makes it advisable for ships rather to pass to the north-

ward or southward, than through them; and indeed the commodore proposed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formosa, had it been possible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion steering the proper course for the river of Canton, she on the 8th of July discovered the island of Supata, the westernmost of the Lema islands. This island of Supata they made to be a hundred and thirty-nine leagues distant from Grafton's island, and to bear from it north 82° 37′ west: and on the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galeon were well ascertained, and it was found that she had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz. of virgin silver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of small account in comparison with the specie. And this being the commodore's last prize, it hence appears, that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of 400,000*l.* independent of the ships and merchandise, which she either burnt or destroyed, and which, by the most reasonable estimation, could not amount to so little as 600,000*l.* more; so that the whole loss of the enemy, by our squadron, did doubtless exceed a million sterling. To which if there be added the great expense of the court of Spain in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loss of their men of war, the total of all these articles will be a most exorbitant sum, and is the strongest conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous disadvantages, did yet prove so extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I shall only add, that there were taken on board the galeon several draughts and journals, and among the rest

there was found a chart of all the ocean between the Philippines and the coast of Mexico, which was what was made use of by the galeon in her own navigation.

CHAP. XIX.

Transactions in the River of Canton.

THE commodore, having taken pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of Canton; and on the 14th of July, came to an anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage forming the mouth of that river: this entrance he proposed to stand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger island, which is a very safe road secured from all winds. But whilst the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer came off from the mandarine commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris to examine what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr. Anson informed the officer, that his ship was a ship of war belonging to the king of Great-Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to shelter himself from the hurricanes which were coming on; and that as soon as the monsoon shifted he should proceed for England. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a list of all which he said was to be sent to the government of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly when he was told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, saying that no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the

whole of this force, lest it should too much alarm the regency. After he had finished his inquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave two custom-house officers behind him; on which the commodore told him, that though as a man of war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind, yet, for the satisfaction of the Chinese, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr. Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and told him that the emperor's duty must be paid by all ships that came into his ports: and it is supposed, that on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the Chinese pilot not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris; which makes it necessary, more particularly, to describe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow passage, little more than musquet shot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the starboard side being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embrasures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, seeming to be four or six pounders; the fort on the larboard side is a large castle, resembling those old buildings which here in England we often find distinguished by that name: it is situated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furnished with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were supposed to exceed six pounders. These are the defences which secure the river of Canton; and which the Chinese (extremely defective in all military skill) have imagined were sufficient to prevent any enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the description of these forts, that they could have given no obstruction to Mr. Anson's passage, even if they had been well supplied with gunners and stores; and therefore, though the

pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship till he had leave from the forts, yet as it was necessary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that, if the ship ran aground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by these threats, carried the ship through safely, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. Indeed the poor pilot did not escape the resentment of his countrymen; for when he came on shore he was seized and sent to prison, and was rigorously disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. Anson afterwards, to desire of him some recompense for the chastisement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very significant marks about him; and Mr. Anson, in commiseration of his sufferings, gave him such a sum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chinese to have undergone a dozen bastinadings.

Nor was the pilot the only person that suffered on this occasion; for the commodore soon after seeing some royal junks pass by him from Bocca Tigris towards Canton, he learnt, on inquiry, that the mandarine commanding the forts was a prisoner on board them; that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be severely punished for having permitted the ships to pass; and the commodore urging the unreasonableness of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwise, explaining to the Chinese the great superiority his ships would have had over the forts, by the number and size of their guns, the Chinese seemed to acquiesce in his reasoning, and allowed that their forts could not have stopped him; but they still asserted that the mandarine would infallibly suffer, for not having done what all his judges were

convinced was impossible. To such indefensible absurdities are those obliged to submit, who think themselves concerned to support their authority, when the necessary force is wanting. But to return:

On the 16th of July the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to the viceroy. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent to the commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr. Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton, the regency sent for them, and examined them, inquiring particularly by what means they had fallen into Mr. Anson's power. And on this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the kings of Great-Britain and of Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes: however, they acknowledged that they had been treated by the commodore much better than they believed they should have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who till then, though they had revered the commodore's power, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless freebooter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important person; to which perhaps the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the estimation and reverence of the Chinese nation.

In this examination of the Spanish prisoners, though

the Chinese had no reason in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumstances which appeared to them so singular, as to deserve a more ample explanation: one of them was the great disproportion of men between the Centurion and the galeon; the other was the humanity with which the people of the galeon were treated after they were taken. The mandarines therefore asked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by so inferior a force; and how it happened, since the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they came into the hands of the English. To the first of these inquiries the Spaniards replied, that though they had more hands than the Centurion, yet she being intended solely for war had a great superiority in the size of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galeon, which was a vessel fitted out principally for traffic: and as to the second question, they told the Chinese, that amongst the nations of Europe, it was not customary to put to death those who submitted; though they readily owned, that the commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unusual courtesy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the customs established between nations at war with each other. These replies fully satisfied the Chinese, and at the same time wrought very powerfully in the commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three mandarines, with a great number of boats, and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the commodore the viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and at the same time they delivered him a message from the viceroy, in answer to the letter sent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the viceroy de-

sired to be excused from receiving the commodore's visit, during the then excessive hot weather; because the assembling the mandarines and soldiers, necessary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to see both the commodore himself, and the English captain of the other ship that was with him. As Mr. Anson knew that an express had been dispatched to the court of Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this visit was, that the regency at Canton might gain time to receive the emperor's instructions about their behaviour on this unusual affair.

When the mandarines had delivered their message, they began to talk to the commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately told them, that he would never submit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandize thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reasonably deemed to be within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtless calculated for trading vessels only, adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his master's orders expressly forbad him from paying any acknowledgement for his ships anchoring in any port whatever.

The mandarines being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they said they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a request to the commodore, that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galeon; for that the viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his master, might be displeased, if he should be informed that persons who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr.

Anson was himself extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having, on his first arrival, sent about an hundred of them to Macao; and those who remained, which were near four hundred more, were on many accounts a great incumbrance to him. However, to enhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the mandarines, that to show his readiness to oblige the viceroy, he would release the prisoners, whenever they, the Chinese, would send boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjusted, the mandarines departed; and on the 28th of July two Chinese junks were sent from Canton, to take on board the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the commodore agreeably to his promise dismissed them all, and ordered his purser to send with them eight days provision for their subsistence during their sailing down the river: this being dispatched, the Centurion and her prize came to her moorings above the second bar, where they proposed to continue till the monsoon shifted.

Though the ships, in consequence of the viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption, yet it was impossible for the commodore to proceed to England without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and stores for his use during the voyage: the procuring this supply was attended with much embarrassment; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit, and whatever else he wanted; and his linguist, towards the middle of September, had assured him, from day to day, that all was ready, and would be sent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing being brought, the commodore sent to Canton to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment: and he had soon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illusion; that no order had been procured from the viceroy, to furnish him with his

sea-stores, as had been pretended; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness which had been promised him; nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement. This was most disagreeable news, and made it suspected, that the furnishing the Centurion for her return to Great-Britain might prove a more troublesome matter than had been hitherto imagined; especially too, as the month of September was nearly elapsed, without Mr. Anson's having received any message from the viceroy of Canton.

And here perhaps it might be expected that some satisfactory account should be given of the motives of the Chinese for this faithless procedure. But as I have already, in a former chapter, made some kind of conjectures about a similar event, I shall not repeat them again in this place, but shall observe, that after all, it may perhaps be impossible for an European, ignorant of the customs and manners of that nation, to be fully apprized of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chinese are difficult to paralleled by any other people; but then the combination of these talents, and the manner in which they are applied in particular emergencies, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration: so that though it may be safely concluded that the Chinese had some interest in thus amusing the commodore, yet it may not be easy to assign the individual views by which they were influenced. And that I may not be thought too severe in ascribing to this nation a fraudulent and selfish turn of temper, so contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the Roman missionaries, I shall here mention an extraordinary transaction or two, which I hope will be some kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the commodore lay first at Macao, one of

his officers, who had been extremely ill, desired leave of him to go on shore every day on a neighbouring island, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the restoring of his health: the commodore would have dissuaded him, suspecting the tricks of the Chinese; but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him. The first day he was put on shore he took his exercise, and returned without receiving any molestation, or even seeing any of the inhabitants; but the second day, he was assaulted, soon after his arrival, by a great number of Chinese, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him so violently with the handles of their hoes, that they soon laid him on the ground incapable of resistance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his sword, the hilt of which was silver, his money, his watch, gold-headed cane, snuff-box, sleeve-buttons and hat, with several other trinkets: in the mean time the boat's crew, who were at some little distance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any assistance; till at last one of them flew on the fellow who had the sword in his possession, and, wresting it out of his hands, drew it, and with it was preparing to fall on the Chinese, some of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to desist, thinking it more prudent to submit to the present violence, than to embroil his commodore in an inextricable squabble with the Chinese government, by the death of their subjects; which calmness in this gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a person of an uncommon spirit, and of a somewhat hasty temper: by this means the Chinese recovered the possession of the sword, which they soon perceived was prohibited to be made use of against them, and carried off their whole booty unmolested. No sooner were they gone,

than a Chinese on horseback, very well dressed, and who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, came down to the shore, and, as far as could be understood by his signs, seemed to censure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiserate the officer, being wonderfully officious to assist in getting him on board the boat: but notwithstanding this behaviour, it was shrewdly suspected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully evinced the justice of those suspicions.

When the boat returned on board, and reported what had passed to the commodore, he immediately complained of it to the mandarine, who attended to see his ship supplied; but the mandarine coolly replied, that the boat ought not to have gone on shore; promising, however, that if the thieves could be found out, they should be punished; though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of answering, that he would never give himself any trouble in searching them out. However, a considerable time afterwards, when some Chinese boats were selling provisions to the Centurion, the person who had wrested the sword from the Chinese came with great eagerness to the commodore, to assure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a provision-boat along-side the ship; and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembering his face, orders were immediately given to seize him; and he was accordingly secured on board the ship, where strange discoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being first apprehended, expressed so much fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the spot; the mandarine too, who attended the ship, had visibly no small share of concern on the occasion. Indeed he had reason enough to be alarmed, since it was soon evinced that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the commodore declaring that he would not deliver

up the thief, but would himself order him to be shot, the mandarine immediately put off the magisterial air, with which he had at first pretended to demand him, and begged his release in the most abject manner: and the commodore appearing inflexible, there came on board, in less than two hours time, five or six of the neighbouring mandarines, who all joined in the same entreaty, and, with a view of facilitating their suit, offered a large sum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilst they were thus soliciting, it was discovered that the mandarine who was the most active amongst them, and who seemed to be most interested in the event, was the very gentleman who came to the officer, just after the robbery, and who pretended to be so much displeased with the villany of his countrymen. And on further inquiry it was found that he was the mandarine of the island; and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the peasants to commit that infamous action. And it seemed, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were casually thrown out, that he and his brethren, who were all privy to the transaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at Canton, where the first article of their punishment would be the stripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chastisement so lucrative to themselves) were perhaps of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr. Anson was not displeased to have caught the Chinese in this dilemma; and he entertained himself for some time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with scorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief should certainly be shot: but as he then foresaw that he should be forced to take shelter in their ports a second time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the magistrates would be of great service to him, he at length permitted himself to be persuaded, and as a favour released his prisoner, but not till the mandarine had

collected and returned all that had been stolen from the officer, even to the minutest trifle.

But notwithstanding this instance of the good intelligence between the magistrates and criminals, the strong addiction of the Chinese to lucre often prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them of its proper quota of the pillage. For not long after the above-mentioned transaction, (the former mandarine, attendant on the ship, being, in the mean time, relieved by another) the commodore lost a top-mast from his stern, which, after the most diligent inquiry, could not be traced: as it was not his own, but had been borrowed at Macao to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely desirous to recover it, and published a considerable reward to any who would bring it him again. There were suspicions from the first of its being stolen, which made him conclude a reward was the likeliest method of getting it back. Accordingly, soon after, the mandarine told him that some of his (the mandarine's) people had found the top-mast, desiring the commodore to send his boats to fetch it; which being done, the mandarine's people received the promised reward; but the commodore told the mandarine, that he would make him a present besides for the care he had taken in directing it to be searched for; and accordingly Mr. Anson gave a sum of money to his linguist, to be delivered to the mandarine; but the linguist, knowing that the people had been paid, and ignorant that a further present had been promised, kept the money himself: however, the mandarine fully confiding in Mr. Anson's word, and suspecting the linguist, he took occasion, one morning, to admire the size of the Centurion's masts, and thence, on a pretended sudden recollection, he made a digression to the top-mast which had been lost, and asked Mr. Anson if he had not got it again. Mr. Anson presently perceived the bent

of this conversation, and inquired of him if he had not received the money from the linguist; and finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the spot. But this the mandarine refused, having now somewhat more in view than the sum which had been detained: for the next day the linguist was seized, and was doubtless mulcted of all he had gotten in the commodore's service, which was supposed to be little less than two thousand dollars: he was besides so severely bastinadoed with the bamboo, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life; and when he was upbraided by the commodore (to whom he afterwards came begging) with his folly, in risquing all he had suffered for fifty dollars, (the present intended for the mandarine,) he had no other excuse to make than the strong bias of his nation to dishonesty, replying, in his broken jargon, "Chinese man very great rogue truly, but have fashion, no can help."

It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds which were practised on the commodore and his people by this interested race. The method of buying all things in China being by weight, the tricks made use of by the Chinese to increase the weight of the provision they sold to the Centurion were almost incredible. One time a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ship's use, the greatest part of them presently died: this alarmed the people on board with the apprehensions that they had been killed by poison; but on examination it appeared that it was only owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to increase their weight, the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chinese butchers, had water injected into them for the same purpose; so that a carcass, hung up all night for the water to drain from it, hath lost above a stone of its weight; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that the Chinese gave them

salt to increase their thirst; and having by this means excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took measures to prevent them from discharging it again by urine, and sold the tortured animal in this inflated state. When the commodore first put to sea from Macao, they practised an artifice of another kind; for, as the Chinese never object to the eating of any food that dies of itself, they took care, by some secret practices, that great part of his live sea-store should die in a short time after it was put on board, hoping to make a second profit of the dead carcasses which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of sight of land, many of the Chinese boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. These instances may serve as a specimen of the manners of this celebrated nation, which is often recommended to the rest of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities. But to return:

The commodore, towards the end of September, having found out (as has been said) that those who had contracted to supply him with sea-provisions and stores had deceived him, and that the viceroy had not sent to him according to his promise, he saw it would be impossible for him to surmount the embarrassment he was under, without going himself to Canton, and visiting the viceroy; and therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message to the mandarine who attended the Centurion, to inform him that he (the commodore) intended, on the first of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he should notify his arrival to the viceroy, and should desire him to fix a time for his audience; to which the mandarine returned no other answer than that he would acquaint the viceroy with the commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition; and the boat's crew in particular, which Mr. Anson proposed to take with him, were clothed

in an uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a coxswain; they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, and with silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be insisted on previous to the granting a permission for victualling the ship for her future voyage; the commodore, who was resolved never to establish so dishonourable, a precedent, took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unreasonable pretensions, by having him in their power at Canton; and therefore, for the security of his ship and the great treasure on board her, he appointed his first lieutenant, Mr. Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him, particularly, if he, the commodore, should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to destroy her; and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance till he received further orders from Mr. Anson.

These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it should seem as if their deliberations were in some sort embarrassed thereby. It is reasonable to imagine, that they were in general very desirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not perhaps solely in consideration of the amount of those dues, but to keep up their reputation for address and subtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already so frequently insisted. However, as they now foresaw that they had no other method of succeeding than by violence, and that even against this the commodore

was prepared, they were at last disposed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themselves in a hostile measure, which they found would only expose them to the risque of having the whole navigation of their port destroyed, without any certain prospect of gaining their favourite point thereby.

However, though there is reason to imagine that these were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evasive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. For when the commodore, on the morning of the first of October, was preparing to set out for Canton, his linguist came to him from the mandarine, who attended his ship, to tell him that a letter had been received from the viceroy of Canton, desiring the commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days; but in the afternoon of the same day, another linguist came on board, who, with much seeming fright, told Mr. Anson, that the viceroy had expected him up that day, that the council was assembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the viceroy was highly offended at the disappointment, and had sent the commodore's linguist to prison chained, supposing that the whole had been owing to the linguist's negligence. This plausible tale gave the commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was some treachery designed him, which he could not yet fathom; and though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the least foundation, yet (for reasons best known to themselves) this falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the commodore received a letter signed by all the supercargoes of the English ships then at that place, expressing their great uneasiness at what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the viceroy was fully satisfied about the

mistake. To this letter Mr. Anson replied, that he did not believe there had been any mistake; but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his visiting the viceroy; that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him an insult, as well knowing it would be properly returned.

On the 13th of October all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which on this occasion came to form his retinue; and as he passed by Wampo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton. His reception at that city, and the most material transactions from henceforward, till his arrival in Great Britain, shall be the subjects of the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. XX.

Proceedings at the City of Canton, and the Return of the Centurion to England.

When the commodore arrived at Canton, he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither, and who thence pretended to conclude, that the viceroy was satisfied about the former mistake, the reality of which they still insisted on: they added, that as soon as the viceroy should be informed that Mr. Anson was at Canton, (which they promised should be done the next morning,) they were persuaded a day would

be immediately appointed for the visit, which was the principal business that had brought the commodore thither.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr. Anson, and told him, that the viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his dispatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him for some days; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information, as soon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr. Anson's arrival, and to endeavour to fix a day of audience. The commodore was by this time too well acquainted with their artifices, not to perceive that this was a falsehood; and had he consulted only his own judgement, he would have applied directly to the viceroy by other hands: but the Chinese merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears, that they (the supercargoes) were extremely apprehensive of being embroiled with the government, and of suffering in their interest, if those measures were taken, which appeared to Mr. Anson at that time to be the most prudential: and therefore, lest the malice and double dealing of the Chinese might have given rise to some sinister incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he resolved to continue passive, as long as it should appear that he lost no time by thus suspending his own opinion. With this view, he promised not to take any immediate step himself for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chinese, with whom he contracted for provisions, would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost dispatch: but if by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off (which it was supposed would be in about forty days) the merchants should not have procured the viceroy's permission, then the commodore proposed to apply for it himself. These were the terms Mr. Anson thought proper to offer, to

quiet the uneasiness of the supercargoes; and notwithstanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chinese agree to them, till the commodore had consented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put in hand. However, at last the contract being past, it was some satisfaction to the commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible.

During this interval, in which the stores and provisions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr. Anson with accounts of their various endeavours to get a license from the viceroy, and their frequent disappointments; which to him was now a matter of amusement, as he was fully satisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they said. But when all was completed, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time too the N. E. monsoon was set in, he then resolved to apply himself to the viceroy to demand an audience, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the procuring a permission to send his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anson sent one of his officers to the mandarine who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the mandarine, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese, and promised that the viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer, that it was not necessary for him to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the commodore himself.

On this occasion Mr. Anson had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter to send with his officer, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese,

usually employed as linguists, could be relied on: but he at last prevailed with Mr. Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This person, who upon this occasion and many others was of singular service to the commodore, had been left at Canton when a youth, by the late captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chinese language was a step taken by that captain merely from his own persuasion of the great advantages which the East-India company might one day receive from an English interpreter; and though the utility of this measure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this day imitated: but we imprudently choose (except in this single instance) to carry on the vast transactions of the port of Canton, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken English which some few of the Chinese have learnt, or by the suspected interpretation of the linguists of other nations.

Two days after the sending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr. Anson went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to assist the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed, and that, by the slightness of the buildings and the awkwardness of the Chinese, it was getting head apace: but he perceived that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observing that it was running along a wooden cornice, which would soon communicate it to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice; this was presently attempted, and would have been soon executed; but, in the mean time, he was told, that, as there was no mandarine there to direct what was to be done, the Chinese would make him, the commodore, answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his or-

ders. On this his people desisted; and he sent them to the English factory, to assist in securing the company's treasure and effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was a protection against the rage of such a fire, where so little was done to put a stop to it; for all this time the Chinese contented themselves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they seemed to expect should check its progress: however, at last, a mandarine came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen; these made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the merchants' warehouses; and the Chinese firemen, wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence, so that its fury increased upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be destroyed. In this general confusion the viceroy himself came thither, and the commodore was sent to, and was entreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. And now he went thither a second time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who upon this occasion exerted themselves in such a manner, as in that country was altogether without example: for they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings, amongst which they wrought: so that it was not uncommon to see the most forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidst the ruins of houses, which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldness and activity the fire was soon extinguished, to the amazement of the Chinese; and the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, happily escaped with no other injuries than some considerable bruises.

The fire, though at last thus luckily extinguished,

did great mischief during the time it continued; for it consumed a hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum; and one of the Chinese merchants, well known to the English, whose name was Succoy, was supposed for his own share to have lost near two hundred thousand pounds sterling. It raged indeed with unusual violence; for in many of the warehouses there were large quantities of camphire, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which shot up into the air to such a prodigious height, that the flame itself was plainly seen on board the Centurion, though she was thirty miles distant.

Whilst the commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general still possessed the whole city, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants came to Mr. Anson, to desire that he would let each of them have one of his soldiers (for such they styled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dress) to guard their warehouses and dwelling-houses, which, from the known dishonesty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. Anson granted them this request; and all the men that he thus furnished to the Chinese behaved greatly to the satisfaction of their employers, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the resolution of the English at the fire, and their trustiness and punctuality elsewhere, was the general subject of conversation amongst the Chinese: and the next morning many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore to thank him for his assistance; frankly owning to him, that they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves, and that he had saved their city from being totally consumed. And soon after a message came to the commodore from the viceroy, appointing the

30th of November for his audience; which sudden resolution of the viceroy, in a matter that had been so long agitated in vain, was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people at the fire, of which the viceroy himself had been in some measure an eye-witness.

The fixing this business of the audience, was, on all accounts, a circumstance which Mr. Anson was much pleased with; as he was satisfied that the Chinese government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themselves to give up their pretensions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reasonably ask; for, as they well knew the commodore's sentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not consistent with the refined cunning of the Chinese, to have admitted him to an audience, only to have contested with him. And therefore, being himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made all necessary preparations against the day; and engaged Mr. Flint, whom I have mentioned before, to act as interpreter in the conference: who, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himself much to the commodore's satisfaction; repeating with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, all that was given in charge, a part which no Chinese linguist would ever have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a mandarine came to the commodore, to let him know that the viceroy was ready to receive him; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately set out; and as soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred soldiers drawn up ready to attend him: these conducted him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then resided. In this parade a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, and made a very fine apearpance, being all of them

new clothed for this ceremony: and Mr. Anson and his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of state, with all his council of mandarines attending: here there was a vacant seat prepared for the commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival: he was ranked the third in order from the viceroy, there being above him only the head of the law, and of the treasury, who in the Chinese government take place of all military officers. When the commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left, than to send, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the viceroy stopped the interpreter, and bid him assure Mr. Anson that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton was from that letter. Mr. Anson then proceeded, and told him, that the subjects of the king of Great Britain trading to China had complained to him (the commodore) of the vexatious impositions both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit, by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the mandarines, who alone could grant them redress: that it was his (Mr. Anson's) duty, as an officer of the king of Great Britain, to lay before the viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the viceroy would take into consideration, and would give orders, that for the future there should be no just reason for complaint. Here Mr. Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer; but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter if he was certain the viceroy understood what he had urged: the interpreter told him, he was certain it

was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. Anson then represented to the viceroy the case of the ship Haslingfield, which, having been dismasted on the coast of China, had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this vessel had been great sufferers by the fire; the captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had lost besides, in the confusion, a chest of treasure of four thousand five hundred *tahel*, which was supposed to be stolen by the Chinese boatmen. Mr. Anson therefore desired that the captain might have the assistance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interposition of the mandarines. And to this request the viceroy made answer, that in settling the emperor's customs for that ship, some abatement should be made in consideration of her losses.

And now the commodore having dispatched the business with which the officers of the East-India company had intrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the viceroy that the proper season was now set in for returning to Europe, and that he waited only for a license to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and that as soon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The viceroy replied to this, that the license should be immediately issued, and that every thing should be ordered on board the following day; and finding that Mr. Anson had nothing further to insist on, the viceroy continued the conversation for some time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the Chinese were obliged to him for his signal services at the fire, and owning that he had saved the city from being destroyed: and then observing that the Centurion had been a good while on their coast, he closed his discourse, by wishing the commodore a good voyage to Europe. After which, the commo-

dore, thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

As soon as the commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on inquiry, that the viceroy himself was not to be present, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the same manner as at his arrival; only at his leaving the city he was saluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which for the preceding four months had given him great disquietude. Indeed he was highly pleased with procuring a license for the shipping of his stores and provisions; for thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the first of the monsoon, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: but this, though a very important point, was not the circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent established on this occasion, by which his majesty's ships of war are for the future exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In pursuance of the promises of the viceroy, the provisions were begun to be sent on board the day after the audience; and, four days after, the commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion; and on the 7th of December the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. And on this occasion I must observe that the Chinese had taken care to man the two forts, on each side of that passage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greatest part of them armed with pikes and match-lock musquets. These garrisons affected to show themselves as much as possible to the ships, and were doubtless intended to induce Mr. Anson to

think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chinese military power: for this purpose they were equipped with much parade, having a great number of colours exposed to view; and on the castle in particular there were laid considerable heaps of large stones; and a soldier of unusual size, dressed in very sightly armour, stalked about on the parapet with a battle-ax in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as possible, though some of the observers on board the Centurion shrewdly suspected, from the appearance of his armour, that instead of steel it was composed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and consequently upon the point of leaving the Chinese jurisdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the Chinese affairs, to subjoin a few remarks on the disposition and genius of that extraordinary people. And though it may be supposed that observations made at Canton only, a place situated in the corner of the empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general conclusions; yet as those who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepossessions, and as the transactions of Mr. Anson with the regency of Canton were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumstances occurred different perhaps from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflections, many of them drawn from these incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the Chinese are a very ingenious and industrious people, is sufficiently evinced from the great number of curious manufactures which are established amongst them, and which are eagerly sought for by the most distant nations; but though skill in the handicraft arts seems to be the most important qualification of this people, yet their talents therein

are but of a second rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japanese in those manufactures which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous instances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellency seems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which constantly attends all servile imitators. This is most conspicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c.; for in all these, though they can copy the different parts, and can form some resemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at such a justness in their fabric, as was necessary to produce the desired effect. And if we pass from their manufacturers to artists of a superior class, as painters, statuaries, &c., in these matters they seem to be still more defective, their painters, though very numerous and in great esteem, rarely succeeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compositions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in these some part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightness and excellency of the colours, than to the skill of the painter; since it is very unusual to see the light and shade justly and naturally handled, or to find that ease and grace in the drawing, which are to be met with in the works of European artists. In short, there is a stiffness and minuteness in most of the Chinese productions, which are extremely displeasing: and it may perhaps be asserted with great truth, that these defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people, amongst whom nothing great or spirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chinese literature, (taking our accounts from the writers who have endeavoured to represent it in the most favourable light,) we shall find, that on this head their obstinacy and absurdity

are most wonderful: for though, for many ages, they have been surrounded by nations to whom the use of letters was familiar, yet they, the Chinese alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themselves of that almost divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of representing words by arbitrary marks; a method which necessarily renders the number of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwise than partially skilled; whilst all reading, and understanding of what is written, is attended with infinite obscurity and confusion; for the connexion between these marks and the words they represent, cannot be retained in books, but must be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: and how uncertain this must prove in such a complicated subject is sufficiently obvious to those who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are transmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is easy to conclude, that the history and inventions of past ages, recorded by these perplexed symbols, must frequently prove unintelligible; and consequently the learning and boasted antiquity of the nation must, in numerous instances, be extremely problematical.

But we are told by some of the missionaries, that though the skill of the Chinese in science is indeed much inferior to that of the Europeans, yet the morality and justice taught and practised by them are most exemplary. And from the description given by some of these good fathers, one should be induced to believe that the whole empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only contests were, who should exert the most humanity and beneficence: but our preceding relation of the behaviour of the magistrates, merchants, and tradesmen at Canton sufficiently refutes these Jesuitical fictions. And as

to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the specimens exhibited in the works of the missionaries, we shall find them solely employed in recommending ridiculous attachments to certain immaterial points, instead of discussing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another, on reasonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretension of the Chinese to a more refined morality than their neighbours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but solely on the affected evenness of their demeanour, and their constant attention to suppress all symptoms of passion and violence. But it must be considered, that hypocrisy and fraud are often not less mischievous to the general interests of mankind than impetuosity and vehemence of temper; since these, though usually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude sincerity, benevolence, resolution, nor many other laudable qualities. And perhaps, if this matter was examined to the bottom, it would appear that the calm and patient turn of the Chinese, on which they so much value themselves, and which distinguishes the nation from all others, is in reality the source of the most exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often observed by those who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robust and violent passions, without augmenting, at the same time, the force of the selfish ones: so that the timidity, dissimulation, and dishonesty of the Chinese may, in some sort, be owing to the composure, and external decency, so universally prevailing in that empire.

Thus much for the general disposition of the people; but I cannot dismiss this subject without adding a few words about the Chinese government, that too having been the subject of boundless panegyric. And on this head I must observe that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for

the administration of their domestic affairs are sufficiently confuted by their transactions with Mr. Anson; for we have seen that their magistrates are corrupt, their people thievish, and their tribunals crafty and venal. Nor is the constitution of the empire, or the general orders of the state, less liable to exception; since that form of government which does not in the first place provide for the security of the public against the enterprises of foreign powers is certainly a most defective institution: and yet this populous, this rich and extensive country, so pompously celebrated for its refined wisdom and policy, was conquered about an age since by a handful of Tartars; and even now, by the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues exposed not only to the attempts of any potent state, but to the ravages of every petty invader. I have already observed, on occasion of the commodore's disputes with the Chinese, that the Centurion alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that empire: this perhaps may appear an extraordinary position; but the following description of two of the junks made use of by the Chinese will render it unquestionable.

One is a vessel of about a hundred and twenty tons burthen, most used in the great rivers, though they sometimes serve for small coasting voyages: the other is about two hundred and eighty tons burthen, and of the same form with those in which they trade to Cochinchina, Manilla, Batavia, and Japan, though some of their trading vessels are of a much larger size; its head is perfectly flat. The masts, sails, and rigging of these vessels are ruder than their built; for their masts are made of trees no otherwise fashioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each mast has only two shrouds made of twisted rattan, which are often both shifted to the weatherside; and the halyard, when the yard is up, serves instead of a third shroud.

The sails are made of matt, strengthened every three feet by a horizontal rib of bamboo: they run upon the mast with hoops, and, when lowered down, fold upon the deck. These merchantmen carry no cannon; and it appears, from this whole description, that they are utterly incapable of resisting any European armed vessel. Nor is the state provided with ships of considerable force, or of a better fabric, to protect them: for at Canton, where doubtless their principal naval power is stationed, we saw no more than four men-of-war junks, of about three hundred tons burthen, being of the make already described, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largest of which did not exceed a four-pounder. This may suffice to give an idea of the defenceless state of the Chinese empire. But it is time to return to the commodore, whom I left with his two ships without the Bocca Tigris, and who on the 12th of December anchored before the town of Macao.

Whilst the ships lay here, the merchants of Macao finished their agreement for the galeon, for which they had offered 6000 dollars: this was much short of her value; but the impatience of the commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on so unequal a bargain. Mr. Anson had learnt enough from the English at Canton to conjecture that the war betwixt Great Britain and Spain was still continued; and that probably the French might engage in the assistance of Spain before he could arrive in Great Britain; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could get to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: for these reasons, he, to

avoid all delay, accepted of the sum offered for the galeon; and she being delivered to the merchants on the 15th of December, 1743, the Centurion the same day got under sail on her return to England. And on the 3d of January she came to an anchor at Prince's island in the Streights of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when she weighed and stood for the Cape of Good Hope, where on the 11th of March she anchored in Table bay.

The Cape of Good Hope is situated in a temperate climate, where the excesses of heat and cold are rarely known; and the Dutch inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native industry, have stocked it with prodigious plenty of all sorts of fruits and provisions; most of which, either from the equality of the seasons, or the peculiarity of the soil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elsewhere: so that by these, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this settlement is the best provided of any in the known world for the refreshment of seamen after long voyages. Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthiness of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, all enlivened by the addition of a civilized colony, was not disgraced in an imaginary comparison with the valleys of Juan Fernandes and the lawns of Tinian. During his stay, he entered about forty new men; and having, by the 3d of April, 1744, completed his water and provision, he on that day weighed and put to sea; and the 19th of the same month they saw the island of Saint Helena, which however they did not touch at, but stood on their way; and on the 10th of June, being then in soundings, they spoke with an English ship from Amsterdam bound for Philadelphia, whence they received the first intelligence of a French war; the twelfth

they got sight of the Lizard; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the signal perils which had so often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprise might pursue them to the very last, Mr. Anson learnt on his arrival that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the channel, which, by the account of their position, he found that the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months, after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune; yet in a long series of transactions they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.

The History of the Spanish Squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro.

The squadron fitted out by the court of Spain to attend the motions, and traverse the projects, of Mr. Anson, was composed of the following men of war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro:

The Asia of sixty-six guns, and seven hundred men; this was the admiral's ship.

The Guipuscoa of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men.

The Hermiona of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men.

The Esperanza of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men.

The St. Estevan of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men.

And a patache of twenty guns.

These ships, over and above their complement of sailors and marines, had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruised some days to leeward of the Madeiras, they left that station in the beginning of November, 1740, and steered for the river of Plate, where they arrived the 5th of January, O. S. and coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river, their admiral, Pizarro, sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply of provisions; for they had departed from Spain with only four months provisions on board. While they lay here expecting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of St. Catherine's, of Mr. Anson's having arrived at that island on the 21st of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons (and as some say his orders likewise) for avoiding our squadron any where short of the South Seas. He was besides extremely desirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, as he imagined that step alone would effectually baffle all our designs; and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should soon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ships, (the patache being disabled and condemned, and the men taken out of

her), after a stay of seventeen days only, and got under sail without his provisions, which arrived at Maldonado within a day or two after his departure. But notwithstanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to sea from St. Catherine's four days before him; and in some part of our passage to Cape Horn, the two squadrons were so near together, that the Pearl, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and, mistaking the Asia for the Centurion, had got within gun-shot of Pizarro before she discovered her error, and narrowly escaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and as they had reason to apprehend very tempestuous weather in doubling it at that season, and as the Spanish sailors, being for the most part accustomed to a fair-weather country, might be expected to be very adverse to so dangerous and fatiguing a navigation, the better to encourage them, some part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to dispose of in the South Seas, that so the hopes of the great profit, each man was to make on his small venture, might animate him in his duty, and render him less disposed to repine at the labour, the hardships, and the perils he would in all probability meet with before his arrival on the coast of Peru.

Pizarro with his squadron having, towards the latter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, he then stood to the westward in order to double it; but in the night of the last day of February, O. S. while with this view they were turning to windward, the Guipuscoa, the Hermiona, and the Esperanza were separated from the admiral; and on the 6th of March following the Guipuscoa was separated from the other two; and on the 7th (being the day after we had passed Streights le Maire) there came on a most furious storm at N. W. which, in despite of all their efforts, drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and obliged them, after several fruitless attempts, to bear away for the river of Plate, where Pizarro in the Asia arrived about the middle of May, and a few days after him the Esperanza and the Estevan. The Hermiona was supposed to founder at sea, for she was never heard of more; and the Guipuscoa was run ashore and sunk on the coast of Brazil. The calamities of all kinds, which this squadron underwent in this unsuccessful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourselves experienced in the same climate, when buffeted by the same storms. There was indeed some diversity in our

distresses, which rendered it difficult to decide whose situation was most worthy of commiseration. For to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as shattered rigging, leaky ships, and the fatigues and despondency which necessarily attend these disasters, there was superadded on board our squadron the ravage of a most destructive and incurable disease; and on board the Spanish squadron the devastation of famine.

For this squadron, either from the hurry of their outset, their presumption of a supply at Buenos Ayres, or from other less obvious motives, departed from Spain, as has been already observed, with no more than four months provision, and even that, as it is said, at short allowance only; so that when, by the storms they met with off Cape Horn, their continuance at sea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were thereby reduced to such infinite distress, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold for four dollars a-piece; and a sailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions. In this dreadful situation, they were alarmed (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the discovery of a conspiracy among the marines, on board the Asia, the admiral's ship. This had taken its rise chiefly from the miseries they endured: for though no less was proposed by the conspirators than the massacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody resolution seemed to be no more than their desire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole ship's provisions to themselves. But their designs were prevented, when just upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confessors, and three of their ringleaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more destructive. So that by the complicated distress of fatigue, sickness, and hunger, the three ships which escaped lost the greatest part of their men: the Asia, their admiral's ship, arrived at Monte Video in the river of Plate, with half her crew only; the St. Estevan had lost in like manner half her hands, when she anchored in the bay of Barragan; the Esperanza, a fifty-gun ship, was still more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands which she brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot perished except sixty men. But to give the reader a more distinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occasion, I shall lay before him a short account of the fate of the Guipuscoa,

from a letter written by Don Joseph Mindinuetta, her captain, to a person of distinction at Lima; a copy of which fell into our hands afterwards in the South Seas.

He mentions that he separated from the Hermiona and the Esperanza in a fog, on the 6th of March, being then, as I suppose, to the S. E. of Staten Land, and plying to the westward; that in the night after, it blew a furious storm at N. W., which at half an hour after ten split his mainsail, and obliged him to bear away with his foresail; that the ship went ten knots an hour with a prodigious sea, and often ran her gangway under water; that he likewise sprung his main-mast; and the ship made so much water, that with four pumps and bailing he could not free her. That on the 19th it was calm, but the sea continued so high, that the ship in rolling opened all her upper works and seams, and started the butt ends of her planking, and the greatest part of her top timbers, the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll: that in this condition, with other additional disasters to the hull and rigging, they continued beating to the westward till the 12th: that they were then in sixty degrees of south latitude, in great want of provisions, numbers every day perishing by the fatigue of pumping, and those who survived being quite dispirited by labour, hunger, and the severity of the weather, they having two spans of snow upon the decks: that then finding the wind fixed in the western quarter, and blowing strong, and consequently their passage to the westward impossible, they resolved to bear away for the river of Plate: that on the 22d they were obliged to throw overboard all the upper-deck guns, and an anchor, and to take six turns of the cable round the ship to prevent her opening: that on the 4th of April, it being calm but a very high sea, the ship rolled so much, that the main-mast came by the board, and in a few hours after, she lost, in like manner, her fore-mast and her mizen-mast; and that, to accumulate their misfortunes, they were soon obliged to cut away their bowsprit, to diminish, if possible, the leakage at her head; that by this time he had lost two hundred and fifty men by hunger and fatigues; for those who were capable of working at the pumps (at which every officer without exception took his turn) were allowed only an ounce and half of biscuit per diem; and those who were so sick, or so weak, that they could not assist in this necessary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat; so that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps: that, including the officers, they could only muster from eighty to a hundred persons capable of duty: that the south-west winds blew so fresh, after they had lost their masts, that they could not immediately set

up jury masts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitudes of 32 and 28, till the 24th of April, when they made the coast of Brazil at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the southward of the island of St. Catherine's: that here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very desirous of proceeding to St. Catherine's if possible, in order to save the hull of the ship, and the guns and stores on board her: but the crew instantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardships they had suffered, and the numbers they had lost, (there being at that time no less than thirty dead bodies lying on the deck), they all with one voice cried out "On shore, on shore!" and obliged the captain to run the ship in directly for the land, where, the 5th day after, she sunk with her stores, and all her furniture on board her; but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had spared, to the number of four hundred, got safe on shore.

From this account of the adventures and catastrophe of the Guipuscoa, we may form some conjecture of the manner in which the Hermiona was lost, and of the distresses endured by the three remaining ships of the squadron, which got into the river of Plate. These last being in great want of masts, yards, rigging, and all kinds of naval stores, and having no supply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any other of their settlements, Pizarro dispatched an advice boat with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting from the Portuguese. He at the same time sent an express across the continent to San Jago in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the disasters that had befallen his squadron, and desiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal chests at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ships, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the passage to the South Seas, as soon as the season of the year should be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards as a most extraordinary circumstance, that the Indian charged with this express (though it was then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are esteemed impassable on account of the snow) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago in Chili; though these places are distant three hundred Spanish leagues, near forty of which are amongst the snows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this dispatch of Pizarro's from the viceroy of Peru was no ways favourable; instead of 200,000 dollars, the sum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that: though the inhabitants at Lima, who con-

sidered the presence of Pizarro as absolutely necessary to their security, were much discontented at this procedure, and did not fail to assert that it was not the want of money, but the interested views of some of the viceroy's confidents, that prevented Pizarro from having the whole sum he had asked for.

The advice-boat sent to Rio Janeiro also executed her commission, but imperfectly; for though she brought back a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, yet she could not procure either masts or yards: and as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was disappointed of some masts he expected from Paraguay; for a carpenter whom he intrusted with a large sum of money and had sent there to cut masts, instead of prosecuting the business he was employed in, had married in the country, and refused to return. However, by removing the masts of the Esperanza into the Asia, and making use of what spare masts and yards they had on board, they made a shift to refit the Asia and the St. Estevan. And in the October following Pizarro was preparing to put to sea with these two ships, in order to attempt the passage round Cape Horn a second time; but the St. Estevan, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a shoal and beat off her rudder; on which, and other damages she received, she was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro in the Asia proceeded to sea without her. Having now the summer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and speedy passage; but being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a swelling sea, by some misconduct of the officer of the watch the ship rolled away her masts, and was a second time obliged to put back to the river of Plate in great distress.

The Asia having considerably suffered in this second unfortunate expedition, the Esperanza, which had been left behind at Monte Video, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the Guipuscoa when she was lost. He, in the November of the succeeding year, that is, in November 1742, sailed from the river of Plate for the South-Seas, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili; where his commodore Pizarro passing over land from Buenos Ayres met him. There were great animosities and contests between these two gentlemen at their meeting, occasioned principally by the claim of Pizarro to command the Esperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round: for Mindinuetta refused to deliver her up to him; insisting that as he came into the South-Seas alone, and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume that authority

which he had once parted with. However, the president of Chili interposing, and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obstinate struggle, was obliged to submit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his adventures; for when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres in the year 1745, they found at Monte Video the Asia, which near three years before they had left there. This ship they resolved if possible to carry to Europe, and with this view they refitted her in the best manner they could: but their great difficulty was to procure a sufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining sailors of the squadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to supply this defect by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board besides all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers, which they had taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among these last there was a chief and ten of his followers, which had been surprised by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana; he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely adverse to the voyage) Pizarro set sail from Monte Video in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745; and the native Spaniards, being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated both those, the English prisoners and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians, for it was common for the meanest officers in the ship to beat them most cruelly on the slightest pretences, and oftentimes only to exert their superiority. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As he conversed very well in Spanish, (these Indians having in time of peace a great intercourse with Buenos Ayres,) he affected to talk with such of the English as understood that language, and seemed very desirous of being informed how many Englishmen there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himself, he had doubtless an intention of disclosing his purposes to them, and making them partners in the scheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs, and recovering his liberty; but having sounded them at a distance, and not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but resolved to trust alone to the

resolution of his ten faithful followers. These, it should seem, readily engaged to observe his directions, and to execute whatever commands he gave them; and having agreed on the measures necessary to be taken, they first furnished themselves with Dutch knives sharp at the point, which being the common knives used in the ship, they found no difficulty in procuring: besides this, they employed their leisure in secretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double-headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns; this, when swung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a most mischievous weapon, in the use of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently are extremely expert. These particulars being in good forwardness, the execution of their scheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself. For one of the officers, who was a very brutal fellow, ordered Orellana aloft; which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his disobedience, beat him with such violence, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and stupified for some time with his bruises and wounds. This usage undoubtedly heightened his thirst for revenge, and made him eager and impatient, till the means of executing it were in his power; so that within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their desperate resolves in the ensuing manner.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck indulging in the freshness of the night air; the waist of the ship was filled with live cattle, and the forecastle was manned with its customary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons and thrown off their trowsers and the more cumbrous part of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and the six remaining Indians seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangway, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth and bellowed out the war-cry used by those savages, which is said to be the harshest and most terrifying sound known in nature. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre; for on this they all drew their knives, and brandished their prepared double-headed shot, and the six with their chief which remained on the quar-

ter-deck immediately fell on the Spaniards, who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of which above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. Many of the officers in the beginning of the tumult pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights and barricadoed the door. And of the others, who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the forecastle; but the Indians placed there on purpose stabbed the greatest part of them, as they attempted to pass by, or forced them off the gangways into the waist. Others threw themselves voluntarily over the barricadoes into the waist, and thought themselves happy to lie concealed amongst the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or rigging. And though the Indians attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the forecastle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few who not being killed on the spot had strength sufficient to force their passage along the gangways, and not knowing either who their enemies were or what were their numbers, they likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the fore-mast and bowsprit.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves almost in an instant of the quarter-deck of a ship mounting sixty-six guns, with a crew of near five hundred men, and continued in peaceable possession of this post a considerable time. For the officers in the great cabin, (amongst whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta,) the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own safety, and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection, and recovering the possession of the ship. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity of the night, had at first greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkness, disorder, and an ignorance of the real strength of an enemy never fail to produce. For, as the Spaniards were sensible of the disaffection of their prest hands, and were also conscious of their barbarity to their prisoners, they imagined the conspiracy was general, and considered their own destruction as infallible; so that, it is said, some of them had once taken the resolution of leaping into the sea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for those who

had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. Orellana, when he saw himself master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greatest security. Here he took it for granted he should find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the use of which weapon they were all extremely skilful, and with these it was imagined they proposed to have forced the great cabin: but on opening the chest there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no use. There were indeed cutlasses in the chest, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a sensible disappointment to them; and by this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin were capable of conversing aloud, through the cabin windows and port-holes, with those in the gun-room and between decks, and from hence they learnt that the English (whom they principally suspected) were all safe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny; and by other particulars they at last discovered that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter-deck before any of the discontented on board should so far recover their first surprise, as to reflect on the facility and certainty of seizing the ship by a junction with the Indians in the present emergency. With this view Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, and distributed them to those who were with him: but there were no other fire-arms to be met with but pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now settled a correspondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of pistol cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their pistols, they set the cabin-door partly open, and fired some shot amongst the Indians on the quarter-deck, at first without effect. But at last Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot; on which his faithful companions abandoning all thoughts of further resistance instantly leaped into the sea, where they every man perished. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and the possession of the quarter-deck regained after it had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief, and his gallant and unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro, having escaped this imminent peril, steered for Europe, and arrived safe on the coast of Galicia in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four

and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of Spain by above three thousand hands, (the flower of their sailors,) and by four considerable ships of war and a patache. For we have seen that the Hermiona foundered at sea; the Guipuscoa was stranded, and sunk on the coast of Brazil; the St. Estevan was condemned, and broke up in the river of Plate; and the Esperanza, being left in the South-Seas, was rendered incapable of returning to Spain. So that the Asia only, with less than one hundred hands, may be considered as all the remains of that squadron with which Pizarro first put to sea.

A

VOYAGE TO SOUTH AMERICA,

Between the Years 1735 and 1746; Undertaken by Command of the King of Spain,

BY

DON GEORGE JUAN,

AND

DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA,

CAPTAINS OF THE SPANISH NAVY, FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY AT PARIS, &c. &c.

THE literary world are no strangers to the celebrated question that has lately produced so many treatises on the figure and magnitude of the earth, which had hitherto been thought perfectly spherical. The prolixity of later observations had given rise to two opposite opinions among philosophers. Both supposed it to be elliptical; but one affirmed its transverse diameter was that of the poles, and the other that it was that of the equator.

The attention of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for the improvement of human knowledge, and its continual ardour to discover and apply the best methods for that noble end, could not sit down contented under the uncertainty concerning the real figure and magnitude of the earth, the investigation of which had for several years past employed the most eminent geniuses of Europe. This learned assembly represented to their sovereign the necessity of determining a point, the exact decision of which was of such great moment, especially to geography and navigation; and at the same time laid before him a method of doing it. This was, to measure some de-

gree of the meridian near the equator; and (as was done with great propriety after our departure) by measuring other degrees under the polar circle, in order to form a judgment of the different parts of its circumference, by their equality or inequality, and from thence to determine its magnitude and figure. No country seemed so proper for this as the province of Quito in South America.

Don George Juan, commander of Aliaga, of the order of Malta, sub-brigadier in the guardas marinas, equally distinguished by his application to the mathematics and his faithful services to the crown, was, with myself, proposed to his majesty, as qualified to contribute to the success of such an enterprise. We had commissions given us as lieutenants of men of war, and, with all necessary instructions, were ordered to embark on board two ships fitting out at Cadiz, for carrying to Carthagena, and thence to Porto Bello, the marquis de Villa-garcia, appointed viceroy of Peru. About the same time the French academicians were to sail in a ship of their nation, and, by way of St. Domingo, to join us at Carthagena, in order to proceed from thence in company.

The two men of war on board of which we had been ordered, were the Conquistador of 64 guns, and the Incendio of 50; the former commanded by Don Francisco de Liano, of the order of Malta, commodore, and the latter by Don Augustin de Iturriaga, by whom it was agreed than Don George Juan should go in the Conquistador, and myself in the Incendio.

We sailed from Cadiz bay, May 26, 1735; and on the second of June saw the Canary islands.

On the 7th we lost sight of the Canaries, and continued our course towards Martinico, steering south between 42 and 45 degrees westerly, increasing the angle every day, till near the island; we steered due west under its parallel, and on the 26th of June discovered Martinico and Dominica.

Our course from Martinico to Curasao, during the two first days, was south 81° westerly; and the two last south 64° westerly. From thence to Carthagena we kept at a proper distance from the coast, so as to distinguish its most noted capes and inhabited places.

On the 5th we discovered the mountains of St. Martha, so well known for their height, and being all covered with snow; and at six in the morning we crossed at the current of thick water, which issues with prodigious rapidity from the river de la Magdalena, and extends several leagues into the sea. About six in the evening found ourselves to the northward of Cape de Canoa, where we lay-to, and continued till seven in the morning, when we set all our sails, which at eight in the evening brought us under fort Boca Chica, where we came to an anchor.

On the 9th of July we landed at Carthagena, and Don George Juan and myself immediately waited on the governor of the place. We were informed that the French academicians were not yet arrived, nor was there any advice of them. Upon this information, and being by our instructions obliged to wait for them, we agreed to make the best use of our time; but were unhappily destitute of instruments, those ordered by his majesty from Paris and London not being finished when we left Cadiz, but were to be forwarded to us at Quito.

Our intention being to go to the equator with all possible expedition, nothing remained but to fix on the most convenient and expeditious route to Quito. Having agreed to go by the way of Porto Bello, Panama, and Guayaquil, we prepared to sail.

We embarked on the 24th of November; the next day we put to sea; and on the 29th of the same month, at half an hour after five in the evening, came to an anchor at the mouth of Porto Bello harbour.

As it had always been our fixed design to stay no

longer than absolutely necessary in any place, till we had answered the great end of our commission, our ardour to enter upon it, together with a desire of quitting this dangerous climate, induced us to make the utmost dispatch. In order to this, we sent advice from Porto Bello, to the president of Panama, of our arrival, explained the motives of our voyage and other circumstances, together with his majesty's orders relating to the assistance to be given us by all his officers; adding our requests, that he would be pleased to send one or two of those vessels used on the river Chagre, to carry us to Panama, it being impracticable for us to travel thither by land, as some of the instruments were too large for the narrow craggy roads in many parts, and others of a nature not to be carried on mules.

The barks employed on this river are of two kinds, the chatas and bongos, called in Peru, bonques. The first are composed of several pieces of timber, like barks, and of great breadth, that they may draw but little water; they carry six or seven hundred quintals. The bongos are formed out of one piece of wood; and it is surprising to think there should be trees of such prodigious bulk, some being eleven Paris feet broad, and carrying conveniently four or five hundred quintals. Both sorts have a cabin at the stern for the conveniency of the passengers, a kind of awning supported with a wooden stancheon reaching to the head, and a partition in the middle, which is also continued the whole length of the vessel; and over the whole, when the vessel is loaded, are laid hides, that the goods may not be damaged by the violence of the rains, which are very frequent here. Each of these require, besides the pilot, at least eighteen or twenty robust Negroes, for without such a number they would not be able, in going up, to make any way against the current.

All the forests and woods near this river are full of wild beasts, especially different kinds of monkeys.

They are of various colours; as black, brown, reddish, and striated: there is also the same diversity in their size; some being a yard long, others about half a yard, and others scarce one third. The flesh of all these different kinds is highly valued by the Negroes, especially that of the red; but, however delicate the meat may be, the sight of them is, I think, enough to make the appetite abhor them; for, when dead, they are scalded in order to take off the hair, whence the skin is contracted by the heat, and, when thoroughly cleaned, looks perfectly white, and very greatly resembles a child of about two or three years of age when crying. This resemblance is shocking to humanity, yet the scarcity of other food in many parts of America renders the flesh of these creatures valuable; and not only the Negroes, but the Creoles and Europeans themselves make no scruple of eating it.

Nothing, in my opinion, can excel the prospects which the rivers of this country exhibit. The most fertile imagination of a painter can never equal the magnificence of the rural landscapes here drawn by the pencil of Nature. The groves which shade the plains, and extend their branches to the river; the various dimensions of the trees which cover the eminences, the texture of their leaves, the figure of their fruits, and the various colours they exhibit, form a most delightful scene, which is greatly heightened by the infinite variety of creatures with which it is diversified. The different species of monkeys, skipping in troops from tree to tree, hanging from the branches, and in other places six, eight, or more of them linked together, in order to pass a river, and the dams with their young on their shoulders, throwing themselves into odd postures, making a thousand grimaces, will perhaps appear fictitious to those who have not actually seen it. But if the birds are considered, our reason for admiration will be greatly augmented: here are a great variety,

as the wild and royal peacock, the turtle-dove, and the heron. Of the latter there are four or five species; some entirely white; others of the same colour, except the neck and some parts of the body, which are red; others black, only the neck, tips of the wings and the belly white; and some with other mixture of colours; and all differing in size. The species first mentioned are the least; the white mixed with black the largest and most palatable. The flesh of peacocks, pheasants, and other kinds, is very delicate. The trees along the banks of this river are surprisingly loaded with fruit; but the pine-apples, for beauty, size, flavour, and fragrancy, excel those of all other countries, and are highly esteemed in all parts of America.

On our arrival at Cruces, we went on shore, and were entertained by the alcalde of the town, whose house was that of the customs, where an account is taken of all goods brought up the river. Having, with all possible dispatch, got every thing ready for our journey to Panama, on the 29th, at half an hour after eleven in the morning, we set out, and reached that city by three-quarters after six in the evening. We made it our first business to wait on the president, a mark of respect due not only to his dignity, but also for the many civilities he had shown us. This worthy gentleman received us all, and particularly the foreigners, in the most cordial and endearing manner. He also recommended to all the king's officers, and other persons of distinction in the city, not to be wanting in any good office or mark of esteem; a behaviour which showed at once the weight of the royal orders, and his zeal to execute his sovereign's pleasure.

Panama is built on an isthmus of the same name, the coast of which is washed by the South Sea.

The first discovery of Panama the Spaniards owe to Tello de Guzman, who landed here in 1515; but found only some fishermen's huts, this being a very

proper place for their business, and from thence the Indians called it Panama, which signifies a place abounding in fish. Before this, namely in the year 1513, Basco Nunez de Balboa discovered the South Sea, and took legal possession of it in the names of the kings of Castile. The discovery of Panama was, in the year 1518, followed by the settlement of a colony there, under Pedrarias Davila, governor of Castilla del Oro, the name by which this Terra Firma was then called. And in 1521, his catholic majesty, the emperor Charles V., constituted it a city, with the proper privileges.

It was this city's misfortune, in the year 1670, to be sacked and burnt by John Morgan, an English adventurer. He had before taken Porto Bello and Maracaybo; and, retiring to the islands, he every where published his design of going to Panama; upon which many of the pirates, who then infested those seas, joined him. He first sailed for Chagre, where he landed some of his men, and at the same time battered the castle with his ships; but his success was owing to a very extraordinary accident. His strength was considerably diminished by the great numbers killed and wounded by the fort, and he began to think it advisable to retreat, when an arrow, shot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of Morgan's companions. The person wounded, rendered desperate by the pain, with a remarkable firmness and presence of mind drew the arrow from the wound, and wrapping one of its ends in cotton, or tow, put it into his musket, which was ready loaded, and discharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houses were of straw, and the sides of wood, according to the custom of that country. The arrow fell on one of the roofs, and immediately set it on fire, which was not at first observed by the besieged, who were busy in defending the place; but the smoke and flames soon informed them of the total destruction of the fort, and of the magazine of

powder, which the flames must soon reach. This unexpected accident filled them with terror and confusion; the courage of the soldiers degenerated into tumult and disobedience; and every one being eager to save himself, the works were soon abandoned, in order to escape the double danger of being either burnt or blown up. The commandant, however, determined to do all in his power, still defended the fort with sixteen or twenty soldiers, being all that were left him, till, covered with wounds, he fell a victim to his loyalty. The pirates, encouraged by this accident, pushed their attack with the utmost vigour; and the few people were obliged to surrender the place, which the violence of the flames soon laid in ashes. Having surmounted this difficulty, the greater part of them proceeded up the river in boats and launches, leaving the ships at anchor for the defence of their new conquest. The detachment having landed at Cruces, marched towards Panama, and on the Sabana, a spacious plain before the city, they had several skirmishes, in which Morgan always gained the advantage; so that he made himself master of the city, but found it almost forsaken; the inhabitants, on seeing their men defeated, having retired into the woods. He now plundered it at his leisure; and, after staying some days, agreed, for a large ransom, to evacuate it without damaging the buildings; but after the payment of the money the city was set on fire, by accident, as they gave out, and as the history of his adventures relates; but it is much more probable that it was done by design. To pretend it was owing to accident, seemed to them the best palliative for their violating the treaty.

In this city is a tribunal or royal audience, in which the governor of Panama presides; and to this employment is annexed the captainship-general of Terra Firma, which is generally conferred on an officer of distinction, though his common title is that of president of Panama. It has also a cathedral, and a

chapter consisting of the bishop and a number of prebendaries; an aujutamiento, or corporation, composed of alcaldes and regidores; three officers of revenue, under an accomptant, treasurer, and agent; and a court of inquisition appointed by the tribunal of inquisition at Carthagena.

The harbour of Panama is formed in its road, by the shelter of several islands, particularly Isla de Naos, de Perico, and Flamencos: the anchoring-place is before the second, and thence called Perico. The ships here lie very safe, and their distance from the city is about two and a half or three leagues.

The tides are regular; and, according to an observation we made on the day of the conjunction, it was high water at three in the evening. The water rises and falls considerably; so that the shore, lying on a gentle slope, is at low water left dry to a great distance. And here we may observe the great difference of the tides in the north and south seas, being directly opposite: what in the ports on the north sea is accounted irregular, is regular in the south; and when in the former it ceases to increase or decrease, in the latter it both rises and falls, extending over the flats, and widening the channels, as the proper effect of the flux and reflux.

At the bottom of the sea are a great number of pearls; and the oysters in which they are found are remarkably delicious. This fishery is of great advantage to the inhabitants of all the islands in this bay.

Our tents and other necessaries being ready, we all embarked on board the St. Christopher, captain Don Juan Manuel Morel; and the next day, being the 22d of February 1736, we set sail for Guayaquil; but having little wind, and that variable, it was the 26th at sunset before we lost sight of the land, the last we saw being Punta de Mala.

On the 25th of March we left the ship at anchor, and went to the city in a boat; and at five in the

evening of the 25th, by the vigour of our rowers, we arrived at Guayaquil, notwithstanding the strength of the tide against us.

The ship St. Christopher, which we left at Puna, followed us so soon, that on the 26th in the evening she came to an anchor before the city: the next day all our baggage and instruments were landed, and we began our observations for determining the situation of Guayaquil, with regard to its latitude and longitude.

On our arrival at Guayaquil, the corregidor of that city, whose great civility, together with that of all the king's officers and other persons of distinction, deserves our acknowledgments, sent notice of it to the corregidor of Guaranda, that he might order carriages to the port of Caracol for conveying us to the mountains. The passage thither was then indeed impracticable; it being in this country the end of winter, at which time the roads are extremely bad, and the rivers swelled so as not to be forded without the greatest risk, and too wide for the bridges of this country.

The corregidor of Guaranda was then at Quito, on some business of his office; but the president and governor of that province, Don Dionysio de Alcedoy Herrera, ordered him to return to his jurisdiction without delay, for providing every thing necessary for our journey; sending, at the same time, circular orders to all the other corregidors through whose jurisdictions we were to pass to Quito, enjoining them not to be wanting in any kind of good office in their power. Every thing being thus happily disposed, and advice arriving that the mules were on their way to Caracol, where they arrived the 6th of May, we were no less expeditious to embark on the river, which is the usual passage. There is indeed a road by land, but at all times extremely difficult and dangerous, on account of the many bays and large rivers which must be passed; so that no person

travels this road but in summer, and then only such as have no baggage, and are, besides, well acquainted with the country and the ferries.

In Guayaquil the winter sets in during December, sometimes at the beginning, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes not till the end of the month, and lasts till April or May. During this season, the elements, the insects, and vermin, seem to have joined in a league to incommode the human species. Its extreme heat appeared from some thermometrical experiments; for on the 3d of April, when its intenseness had begun to abate, at six in the morning the liquor stood at 1022; at noon, at 1025; and at three in the afternoon, at 1027; which shows the heat in the middle of winter to be greater than at Carthagena. The rains also continue day and night, accompanied with frequent and dreadful tempests of thunder and lightning, so that every thing seems to conspire to distress the inhabitants. The river, and all those which join it, overflow their banks, and lay under water the whole country. The long calm renders the refreshing winds very desirable; and the innumerable swarms of insects and vermin infest both the air and ground in an intolerable manner.

The snakes, poisonous vipers, scorpions, and scolopendræ, in this season find methods of getting into the houses, to the destruction of many of the inhabitants. And though they are not actually free from them all the rest of the year, yet at this time they are far more numerous, and also more active; so that it is absolutely necessary to examine carefully the beds, some of these animals having been known to find their way into them: and both as a safeguard against the danger, and to avoid the tortures of the moschitos and other insects, all persons, even the Negro slaves and Indians, have toldos or canopies over their beds. Those used by the lower class of people are made of tucuyo, or cotton, wove in the

mountains: others use white linen laced, according to the temper or ability of the owner.

Though all these hot and moist countries swarm with an infinite variety of volatile insects, yet the inhabitants are no where so greatly incommoded as at Guayaquil, it being impossible to keep a candle burning, except in a lantern, above three or four minutes, numberless insects flying into its flame and extinguishing it. Any person therefore being obliged to be near a light, is soon driven from his post by the infinite numbers which fill his eyes, ears, and nostrils. These insects were almost insupportable to us, during the short clear intervals of some nights which we spent in making observations on the heavenly bodies. Their stings were attended with great tortures; and more than once obliged us to abandon our observations, being unable either to see or breathe for their multitudes.

Another terrible inconvenience attending the houses here, are the numbers of pericotes, or rats; every building being so infested with them, that when night comes on they quit their holes, and make such a noise in running along the ceiling, and in clambering up and down the sides of the rooms and canopies of the beds, as to disturb persons not accustomed to them. They are so little afraid of the human species, that if a candle be set down without being in a lantern, they immediately carry it off; but as this might be attended with the most melancholy consequences, care is taken that their impudence is seldom put to this trial, though they are remarkably vigilant in taking advantage of the least neglect. All these inconveniences, which seem insupportable to strangers, and alone sufficient to render such a country uninhabited, little affect the natives, as having been used to them from their infancy: they are more affected with cold on the mountains, which the Europeans scarce feel, or at

least think very moderate, than with all these disagreeable particulars.

The least troublesome season is the summer, as then both the number and activity of these vermin are diminished; it being a mistake in some authors to say they abound most in that season. The heat is then abated, by the setting-in of the S.W. and W.S.W. breezes, called here chandui, as coming over a mountain of that name. These begin constantly at noon, and continue to refresh the earth till five or six in the following morning. The sky is always serene and bright, the gentlest showers being rarely known. Provisions are in greater plenty, and those produced in the country of a very agreeable taste, if used while fresh. Fruits are more common, especially melons and water-melons. But the capital advantage is the remarkable salubrity of the air in that season.

On receiving advice that the mules provided by the corregidor of Guaranda were on the road to Caracol, we immediately embarked at Guayaquil, on the 3d of May 1736, on board a large chata: but the usual impediment of the current, and several unfortunate accidents, rendered the passage so very long, that we did not land at Caracol before the 11th.

The tortures we received on the river from the moschitos were beyond imagination. We had provided ourselves with guetres, and moschito cloths; but to very little purpose. The whole day we were in continual motion to keep them off; but at night our torments were excessive. Our gloves were indeed some defence to our hands, but our faces were entirely exposed, nor were our clothes a sufficient defence for the rest of our bodies; for their stings, penetrating through the cloth, caused a very painful and fiery itching. The most dismal night we spent in this passage was when we came to an anchor near a large and handsome house, but uninhabited; for we had no sooner seated ourselves in it, than we were

attacked on all sides with innumerable swarms of moschitos; so that we were so far from having any rest there, that it was impossible for a person susceptible of feeling to be one moment quiet. Those who had covered themselves with their moschito cloths, after taking the greatest care that none of these malignant insects were contained in them, found themselves in a moment so attacked on all sides, that they were obliged soon to return to the place they had quitted. Those who were in the house, hoping that they should find some relief in the open fields, ventured out, though in danger of suffering in a more terrible manner from the serpents; but were soon convinced of their mistake; it being impossible to determine which was the most supportable place, within the moschito cloth, without it, or in the open fields. In short, no expedient was of any use against their numbers. The smoke of the trees we burnt to disperse these infernal insects, besides almost choking us, seemed rather to augment than diminish their multitudes. At day-break we could not without concern look upon each other. Our faces were swelled, and our hands covered with painful tumours, which sufficiently indicated the condition of the other parts of our bodies exposed to the attacks of those insects. The following night we took up our quarters in a house inhabited, but not free from moschitos, though in much less numbers than before. On informing our host of the deplorable manner in which we had spent the preceding night, he gravely told us that the house we so greatly complained of had been forsaken on account of its being the purgatory of a soul. To which one of our company wittily answered, that it was much more natural to think that it was forsaken on account of its being a purgatory for the body.

The mules being arrived at Caracol, we set out on the 14th of May, and after travelling four leagues, through savannahs, woods of plantain, and cacao-

trees, we arrived at the river Ojibar, and continued our journey during the whole day along its banks, fording it no less than nine times, though with no small danger, from its rapidity, breadth, depth, and rocky bottom; and about three or four in the afternoon we halted at a place called Puerto de Muschitos.

All the road from Caracol to the Ojibar is so deep and boggy that the beasts at every step sunk almost up to their bellies, but along the banks of that river we found it much more firm and commodious. The name of the place where we were to take up our lodging that night sufficiently indicates its nature. The house had been for some time forsaken, like that already mentioned on Guayaquil river, and become a nest of moschitos of all kinds; so that it was impossible to determine which was the worst. Some, to avoid the torture of these insects, stripped themselves, and went into the river, keeping only their heads above water; but the face, being the only part exposed, was immediately covered with them; so that those who had recourse to this expedient, were soon forced to deliver up their whole bodies to these tormenting creatures.

On the 15th we continued our journey through a very thick forest, the end of which brought us once more to the banks of the same river, which we again forded four times, and rather with more danger than at first. About five, we halted on its banks, at a place called Caluma, or the Indian post. Here was no house for lodging in, nor had we seen one during the whole day's journey; but this inconvenience was in some measure removed by the surprising dexterity of our Indians, who, running into the woods, soon returned with branches of trees and vijahua leaves, with which in less than an hour they erected several huts large enough to contain our whole company; and so well covered, that the rain, which came on very violently, did not penetrate them.

The thermometer at Caluma, on the 16th, at six in the morning, was at 1016; and we were ourselves sensible that the air began to grow cool. At half an hour after eight in the morning we began our journey, and at noon passed by a place called Mamarumi, or mother of stone, where there is an inconceivably beautiful cascade. The rock from which the water precipitates itself is nearly perpendicular, and fifty toises in height, and on both sides bordered with lofty and spreading trees. The clearness of the water dazzles the sight, which is, however, charmed with its lustre as it falls from the precipice; after which it continues its course in a bed along a small descent, and is crossed by the road. These cataracts are by the Indians called Paccha, and by the Spaniards of the country Chorrera. From hence we continued our journey; and after crossing the river twice on bridges, but with equal danger as in fording it, we arrived at two in the evening at a place called Tarigagua, where we rested in a large structure of timber, covered with vijahua leaves, built for our reception. Indeed we were no less fatigued with this day's journey than with any of the preceding; some parts of it being over dreadful precipices, and the road in others so narrow as hardly to afford a passage for the mules, that it was impossible to avoid frequently striking against the trees and rocks; few of us therefore reached Tarigagua without several bruises.

It must not be thought strange that I should say the bridges are equally dangerous with the fords; for these structures, all of wood, and very long, shake in passing them; besides, their breadth is not above three feet, and without any rail; so that one false step precipitates the mule into the torrent, where it is inevitably lost, accidents, according to the report of our guides, not uncommon. These bridges, by the rotting of the wood under water, are annually repaired towards winter, the only season when they

are used, the rivers during the summer being fordable.

When a person of distinction, as a president, a bishop, &c. is on a journey from Caracol or Babahoyo, the corregidor of Guaranda dispatches Indians for building cottages at the usual resting places, like that we found at Tarigagua; and these being left standing, serve afterwards for other passengers, till the rains destroy them. When these are thrown down, travellers must content themselves with the huts which their Indian guides build with wonderful dispatch.

At Tarigagua, on the 17th, at six in the morning, the thermometer stood at 1014½. And having been for some time accustomed to hot climates, we now sensibly felt the cold. It is remarkable, that we here often see instances of the effects of two opposite temperatures in two persons happening to meet, one of them coming from Guayaquil, and the other from the mountains; the latter finding the heat so great that he is scarce able to bear any clothes, while the former wraps himself up in all the garments he can procure. The one is so delighted with the warmth of the water of the river, that he bathes in it; the other thinks it so cold, that he avoids being spattered by it. Nor is the case very different in the same person, who, after a journey to the mountains, is returning to Guayaquil, or *vice versa*, provided the journey and return be made at the same season of the year. This sensible difference proceeds only from the change naturally felt at leaving a climate to which one has been accustomed, and coming into another of an opposite temperature; and thus two persons, one used to a cold climate, like that of the mountains, the other to a hot, like that of Guayaquil, must, at coming into an intermediate temperature, as at Tarigagua, feel an equal difference, one with regard to heat, and the other with regard to cold;

which demonstrates that famous opinion—that the senses are subject to as many apparent alterations, as the sensations are various in those who feel them. For the impressions of objects are different, ing to the different disposition of the sense the organs of two persons differently dispo differently affected. At a quarter past nine morning we began to ascend the mountain Antonia, the foot of which is at Tarigagua; one, came to a place called by the Indians G or Cross of Canes. Here is a small but i plain; and being told that it was half way acclivity, and our beasts requiring rest, w here.

The ruggedness of the road from Tarigag ing up this mountain is not easily described. us more trouble and fatigue, besides the dan were every moment exposed to, than all we perienced in our former journeys. In some p declivity is so great that the mules can sca their footing, and in others the acclivity is difficult. In many places the road is so nar the mules have scarce room to set their feet others a continued series of precipices. Besid roads, or rather paths, are full of holes, or ca near three quarters of a yard deep, in w mules put their fore and hind feet, so tha times they draw their bellies and riders' le the ground. Indeed these holes serve as ste out which the precipices would be in a great impracticable. But should the creature ha put his foot between two of these holes, or n it right, the rider falls, and, if on the sid precipice, inevitably perishes. It may perhaps be said, that it would be much safer to perform this part of the journey on foot: but how can any person be sure always of placing his feet directly on the eminences between the holes? and the least false step

throws him up to the waist in a slimy mud, with which all the holes are full; and then he will find it very difficult either to proceed or return back.

These holes, or camelones, as they are called, render all this road very toilsome and dangerous, being as it were so many obstacles to the poor mules, though the danger is even greater in those parts where they are wanting. For as the tracks are extremely steep and slippery, from the soil, which is chalky and continually wet, so they would be quite impracticable, did not the Indians go before, and dig little trenches across the road, with small spades which they carry with them for this purpose; and thus both the difficulty and danger of these craggy paths are greatly lessened. This work is continual, every drove requiring a repetition of it; for in less than a night the rain utterly destroys all the trenches cut by several hands the preceding day. The trouble of having people going before to mend the road; the pains arising from the many falls and bruises; and the disagreeableness of seeing one's self entirely covered with dirt and wet to the skin, might be the more cheerfully supported, were they not augmented by the sight of such frightful precipices and deep abysses, as must fill the traveller's mind with terror. For, without the least exaggeration, it may be said, that in travelling this road the most resolute tremble.

The manner of descending from these heights is not less difficult and dangerous. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe, that in those parts of the mountains the excessive steepness will not admit of the camelones being lasting; for the waters, by continually softening the earth, wash them away. On one side are steep eminences, and on the other frighful abysses; and as they generally follow the direction of the mountain, the road, instead of lying in a level, forms two or three steep eminences and declivities, in the distance of two or three hundred

yards, and these are the parts where no camelongs can be lasting. The mules themselves are sensible of the caution requisite in these descents; for, coming to the top of an eminence, they stop, and having placed their fore feet close together, as in the posture of stopping themselves, they also put their hinder feet together, but a little forwards, as if going to lie down. In this attitude, having as it were taken a survey of the road, they slide down with the swiftness of a meteor. All the rider has to do is to keep himself fast in the saddle without checking his beast; for the least motion is sufficient to disorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which case they both unavoidably perish. The address of these creatures is here truly wonderful; for in this rapid motion, when they seem to have lost all government of themselves, they follow exactly the different windings of the road, as if they had before accurately reconnoitred, and previously settled in their minds the route they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their safety amidst so many irregularities. There would indeed otherwise be no possibility of travelling over such places, where the safety of the rider depends on the experience and address of his beast.

But the longest practice of travelling these roads cannot entirely free them from a kind of dread or horror which appears when they arrive at the top of a steep declivity. For they stop without being checked by the rider; and if he inadvertently endeavours to spur them on, they continue immoveable; nor will they stir from the place till they have put themselves in the above-mentioned posture. Now it is that they seem to be actuated by reason; for they not only attentively view the road, but tremble and snort at the danger, which, if the rider be not accustomed to these emotions, cannot fail of filling him with terrible ideas. The Indians go before, and place themselves along the sides of the mountain, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beasts

with shouts, till they at once start down the declivity.

There are indeed some places where these declivities are not on the sides of precipices; but the road is so narrow and hollow, and the sides so nearly perpendicular, that the danger is almost equal to the former; for the track being extremely narrow, and the road scarce wide enough to admit the mule with its rider, if the former falls, the latter must be necessarily crushed; and for want of room to disengage himself, generally has a leg or an arm broken, if he escapes with life. It is really wonderful to consider these mules, after having overcome the first emotions of their fear, and are going to slide down the declivity, with what exactness they stretch out their fore-legs, that by preserving the equilibrium they may not fall on one side, yet at a proper distance make, with their body, that gentle inclination necessary to follow the several windings of the road; and, lastly, their address in stopping themselves at the end of their impetuous career. Certainly the human species themselves could not show more prudence and conduct. Some mules, after being long used to these journeys, acquire a kind of reputation for their skill and safety, and accordingly are highly valued.

The worst seasons for these journeys, though difficult and dangerous at all times, are the beginnings of summer and winter, the rain then causing such dreadful torrents, that in some places the roads are covered with water, and in others so damaged that there is no possibility of passing, but by sending Indians before to mend them; though, after all their labour, which must be done in haste, and when those people think them both safe and easy, they are such as an European stranger would willingly avoid.

Besides, the natural difficulty of all the roads among the mountains is increased by the neglect of them, which is greater than could easily be conceived.

If a tree, for instance, happens to fall down across the road, and stop up the passage, no person will be at the pains to remove it; and though all passing that way are put to no small difficulty by such an obstacle, it is suffered to continue; neither the government, nor those who frequent the road, taking any care to have it drawn away. Some of these trees are indeed so large, that their diameter is not less than a yard and half, and consequently fill up the whole passage; in which case, the Indians hew away part of the trunk, and assist the mules to leap over what remains; but, in order to this, they must be unloaded; and after prodigious labour, they at last surmount the difficulty; though not without great loss of time, and damage to the goods: when, pleased with having got over the obstacle themselves, they leave the tree in the condition they found it; so that those who follow are obliged to undergo the same fatigue and trouble. Thus the road, to the great detriment of trade, remains encumbered till time has destroyed the tree. Nor is it only the roads over San Antonio, and other mountains beween Guayaquil and the Cordillera that are thus neglected, the case is general all over this country, especially where they lead over mountains and through the forests.

On the 18th, at six in the morning, the thermometer at Cruz de Canos was at 1010, and after travelling along a road no better than the day before, we arrived at a place, at the end of the acclivity of the mountain, by the Indians called Pucara, which signifies a gate or narrow pass of a mountain; it also signifies a fortified place, and possibly derived its name from its narrowness and the natural strength of its situation. We now began to descend with more ease towards the province of Chimbo, though the road was not much better than the former. Here we were met by the corregidor of Guaranda or Chimbo, attended by the provincial alcalde and the most eminent persons of the town. After compli-

menting us in the most cordial manner on our arrival, we proceeded together, and within a league of the town were met by the priest, a Dominican, accompanied by several of his order, and a great number of the inhabitants, who also left the town on the same friendly occasion; and, to heighten the ceremony, had brought with them a troop of cholos, or Indian boys.

These cholos were dressed in blue, girded round their waists with sashes, on their heads a kind of turban, and in their hands they carried flags. This little corps was divided into two or three companies, and went before us dancing, and singing some words in their language, which, as we were told, expressed the pleasure they received from the sight of such persons arrived safe in their country. In this manner our cavalcade entered the town, on which all the bells in the place were rung, and every house resounded with the noise of trumpets, tabors, and pipes.

On expressing to the corregidor our surprise at this reception, as a compliment far above our rank, he informed us, that it was not at all singular, it being no more than what was commonly practised when persons of any appearance enter the town, and that there was no small emulation between the several towns in paying these congratulations.

After we had passed the mountains beyond Pacara, the whole country within the reach of the eye, during a passage of two leagues, was a level and open plain, without trees or mountains, covered with fields of wheat, barley, maize, and other grain, whose verdure, different from that of the mountain, naturally gave us great pleasure, our sight for near a twelve-month having been conversant only with the products of hot and moist countries, very foreign to these, which nearly resemble those of Europe, and excited in our minds the pleasing idea of our native soil.

The corregidor entertained us in his house at Gua-

randa till the 21st of the same month, when we continued our journey to Quito. The thermometer was for three days successively at 1004½.

On the 22d, we began to cross the desert of Chimborazo, leaving the mountain of that name on the left, and travelling over different eminences and heights, most of which were of sand, the snow for a great distance forming, as it were, the sides of the mountain. At half an hour after five in the evening we arrived at a place called Rumi Machai, that is, a stony cave, an appellation derived from a vast cavity in a rock, and which is the only lodging travellers find here.

This day's journey was not without its trouble; for though we had nothing to fear from precipices or dangerous passes, like those in the road to Guaranda, yet we suffered not a little from the cold of that desert, then increased by the violence of the wind. Soon after we had passed the large sandy plain, and being thus got over the severest part of the desert, we came to the ruins of an antient palace of Yncas, situated in a valley between two mountains; but these ruins are little more than the foundations of the walls.

On the 23d, at three quarters after five in the morning, the thermometer was at 1000, or the freezing point, and accordingly we found the whole country covered with a hoar frost, and the hut in which we lay had ice on it. At nine in the morning we set out, still keeping along the side of Chimborazo. At two in the afternoon we arrived at Mocha, a small mean place, but where we were obliged to pass the night.

On the 24th, at six in the morning, the thermometer was at 1006, and at nine we set out for Hambato, which we reached at one in the afternoon, after passing several torrents, breaches, or chasms of the mountain Carguairaso, another mountain covered with snow, a little north of Chimborazo. Among

these chasms is one without water, the earth remaining dry to the depth of twelve feet. This chasm was caused by a violent earthquake, which shall be spoken of in its place.

On the 25th, the thermometer at Hambato, at half an hour after five in the morning, stood at 1010, and on the 26th, at six in the morning, at 1009⅔. This day, having passed the river of Hombato, and afterwards that of St. Miguel, by help of a wooden bridge, we arrived at Latacunga.

On the 27th, at six in the morning, the thermometer was at 1007, when leaving Latacunga we reached in the evening the town of Mula-Halo, having in the way forded a river called Alaques.

On the 28th, the liquor of the thermometer was at the same height as at Latacunga, and we proceeded on our journey, arriving in the evening at the mansion-house or villa called Chi Shinche. The first part of this day's journey was over a large plain, at the end of which we had the pleasure of passing by a structure that belonged to the Pagan Indians, being a palace of the Yncas. It is called Callo, and gave name to the plain. We afterwards came to an acclivity, at the top of which we entered on the plain of Tiopullo, not less in extent than the first; and at the bottom, towards the north, is the house where we were entertained that night.

On the 29th, the thermometer at six in the morning was at 1003¼. We set out the earlier, as this was to be our last journey. A road, crossing several breaches and beaten tracks, brought us to a spacious plain called Tura-Bamba, that is, a muddy plain, at the other extremity of which stands the city of Quito, where we arrived at five in the evening. The president of the province was Don Dionesio de Alzedo y Herrera, who, besides providing apartments for us in the palace of the Audencia, entertained us the first three days with great splendour, during which we were visited by the bishop, the auditors, the ca-

nons, the regidores, and all other persons of any, distinction, who seemed to vie with each other in their civilities towards us.

In order to form an adequate idea of this country, it will not be amiss, after being so particular in describing the disagreeable parts and the many dangers to which travellers are exposed, to add a description of the most remarkable productions of nature. The lands between the custom-house of Babahoyo, or Caracol, and Guaranda, are of two kinds: the first, which extends to Tarigagua, is entirely level; and the second, which begins at that part, wholly mountainous. But both, and even two leagues beyond Pucara, are full of thick forests of various kinds of large trees, differing in the foliage, the disposition of their branches, and the size of their trunks. The mountains which form this chain of the Andes are, on the west side, covered with woods; but on the east entirely bare. Among these mountains is the source of that river which, being increased on all sides by brooks, makes so grand an appearance between Caracol and Guayaquil, and proves so advantageous to the commerce of the country.

In the level part of this woody extent are a great number of animals and birds, of the same kind with those described in our account of Carthagena, except that to the last may be added wild peacocks, bustards, pheasants, and a few others, which are here in such abundance, that, did they not always rest on the tops of the trees, where, either from their enormous height, or being covered with leaves, they are secure, a traveller, with a good fowling-piece and ammunition, might at any time procure himself an elegant repast. But these forests are also terribly infested with snakes and monkeys, particularly a kind called marimondas, which are so very large that, when standing on their hind legs, they are little less than six feet high. They are black, and in every respect very ugly, but easily tamed. None of the forests

are without them, but they seem most common in those of Guayaquil.

All the progress made during one whole year, which we spent in coming to Quito, was the surmounting the difficulties of the passage, and at length reaching that country where we were to enter on the principal part of our commission. Nor will even this appear a small matter, if the great distance and diversity of climates be considered. A few of the first days after our arrival were spent in making proper returns for the civilities we had received from all persons of rank; after which we began to deliberate on the best methods of performing our work; and the rather, as M. M. Bouguer and de la Condamine were now arrived. The former reached Quito on the 10th of June, by the same road of Guaranda; and the latter on the 4th of the same month, having taken his route by the river of Emeralds, in the government of Atacames.

Our first operation was to measure a piece of ground, which was to be the base of the whole work; and this we finished during the remainder of the current year. But it proved a very difficult and fatiguing operation, from the heat of the sun, and the winds and rains, which continually incommoded us. The plain made choice of for this base is situated 249 toises lower than Quito, and four leagues to the N. E. of that city. It is called the plain of Yaruqui, from a village of that name near it. This plain was particularly chosen, as the best adapted to our operations; for though there are several others in this district, yet all of them lay at too great a distance from the direction of our base. The quality, disposition, and lower situation, all contribute to render it less cold than Quito. Eastward it is defended by the lofty cordillera of Guamani and Pambamarca, and westward by that of Pichincha. The soil is entirely sand; so that, besides the heat naturally resulting

from the direct rays of the sun, it is increased by the rays being reverberated by the two cordilleras; hence it is also exposed to violent tempests of thunder, lightning, and rain; but, being quite open towards the north and south, such dreadful whirlwinds form here, that the whole interval is filled with columns of sand, carried up by the rapidity and gyrations of violent eddy winds, which sometimes produce fatal consequences: one melancholy instance happened while we were there; an Indian, being caught in the centre of one of these blasts, died on the spot. It is not, indeed, at all strange, that the quantity of sand in one of these columns should totally stop all respiration in any living creature who has the misfortune of being involved in it.

Our daily labour was to measure the length of this plain in a horizontal direction, and at the same time, by means of a level, to correct the inequalities of the ground, beginning early in the morning, and continuing to pursue our task closely till evening, unless interrupted by extreme bad weather, when we retired to a tent always pitched for that purpose, as well as for a retreat at noon, when the heat of the sun became too great for us, after the fatigue of the morning.

We at first intended to have formed our base in the plain of Cayambe, situated twelve leagues to the north of Quito. Accordingly, the company first repaired to this plain, to view it more attentively. In this place we lost M. Couplet, on the 17th of September 1736, after only two days illness. He was indeed slightly indisposed when we set out from Quito, but being of a strong constitution, his zeal for the service would not permit him to be absent at our first essay. On his arrival, however, his distemper rose to such a height, that he had only two days to prepare for his passage into eternity; but we had the satisfaction to see he performed his part with exemplary devotion.

This almost subitaneous death of a person in the flower of his age was the more alarming, as none of us could discover the nature of his disease.

The mensuration of the base was succeeded by observing the angles, both horizontal and vertical, of the first triangles we intended to form; but many of them were not pursued, the form and disposition of the series being afterwards altered to very great advantage. In order to this, M. Verguin, with some others, was sent to draw a geographical map of the parts south of Quito; whilst M. Bouguer did the same with regard to the northern parts, a task we found absolutely necessary, in order to determine the points where the signals should be placed, so as to form the most regular triangles, and whose sides should not be intercepted by higher mountains.

It was now determined to continue the series of triangles to the south of Quito; and the company accordingly divided themselves into two bodies, consisting of French and Spaniards, and each retired to the part assigned him; Don George Juan and M. Godin, who were at the head of one party, went to the mountain of Pambamarca; while M. M. Bouguer, de la Condamine, and myself, together with our assistants, climbed up to the highest summit of Pichincha. Both parties suffered not a little, both from the severity of the cold and the impetuosity of the winds, which on these heights blew with incessant violence; and these difficulties were the more painful to us, as we had been little used to such sensations. Thus in the torrid zone, nearly under the equinoctial, where it is natural to suppose we had most to fear from the heat, our greatest pain was caused by the excessiveness of the cold, the intenseness of which may be conjectured from the following experiments made by the thermometer, carefully sheltered from the wind, on the top of Pichincha; the freezing point being at 1000.

Our first scheme for shelter and lodging, in these

uncomfortable regions, was, to pitch a field-tent for each company; but on Pichincha this could not be done, from the narrowness of the summit; and we were obliged to be contented with a hut so small that we could hardly all creep into it. Nor will this appear strange, if the reader considers the bad disposition and smallness of the place, it being one of the loftiest crags of a rocky mountain, one hundred toises above the highest part of the desert of Pichincha. Such was the situation of our mansion, which, like all other adjacent parts, soon became covered with ice and snow. The ascent up this stupendous rock, from the base, or the place where the mules could come, to our habitation, was so craggy, as only to be climbed on foot, and to perform it cost us four hours continual labour and pain, from the violent efforts of the body, and the subtility of the air; the latter being such as to render respiration difficult. It was my misfortune, when I climbed something above half way, to be so overcome that I fell down, and remained a long time without sense or motion; and, as I was told, with all the appearances of death in my face. Nor was I able to proceed after coming to myself, but was obliged to return to the foot of the rock, where our servants and instruments remained. The next day I renewed the attempt of climbing the rock; though probably I should have had no better success than before, had not some Indians assisted me in the most steep and difficult places.

The strange manner of living which we were reduced to, may not perhaps prove unentertaining to the reader; and therefore I shall, as a specimen of it, give a succinct account of what we suffered on Pichincha. For this desert, both with regard to the operations we performed there, and its inconveniences, differing very little from others, an idea may be very easily formed of the fatigues, hardships, and dangers, to which we were continually exposed. The principal difference between the several deserts, con-

sisted in their greater or lesser distance from places where we could procure provisions; and in the inclemency of the weather, which was proportionate to the height of the mountains, and the season of the year when we visited them.

We generally kept within our hut. Indeed, we were obliged to do this, both on account of the intenseness of the cold, the violence of the wind, and our being continually involved in so thick a fog, that an object at six or eight paces was hardly discernible. When the fog cleared up, the clouds, by their gravity, moved nearer to the surface of the earth, and on all sides surrounded the mountain to a vast distance, representing the sea, with our rock like an island in the centre of it. When this happened, we heard the horrid noises of the tempests, which then discharged themselves on Quito and the neighbouring country. We saw the lightnings issue from the clouds, and heard the thunders roll far beneath us; and whilst the lower parts were involved in tempests of thunder and rain, we enjoyed a delightful serenity; the wind was abated, the sky clear, and the enlivening rays of the sun moderated the severity of the cold. But our circumstances were very different when the clouds rose; their thickness rendered respiration difficult; the snow and hail fell continually, and the wind returned with all its violence; so that it was impossible entirely to overcome the fears of being, together with our hut, blown down the precipice on whose edge it was built, or of being buried under it by the daily accumulations of ice and snow.

The wind was often so violent in these regions, that its velocity dazzled the sight; whilst our fears were increased by the dreadful concussions of the precipice by the fall of enormous fragments of rocks. These crashes were the more alarming, as no other noises are heard in these deserts; and during the night, our rest, which we so greatly wanted, was fre-

quently disturbed by such sudden sounds. When the weather was any thing fair with us, and the clouds gathered about some of the other mountains which had a connection with our observations, so that we could not make all the use we desired of this interval of good weather, we left our hut to exercise ourselves, in order to keep us warm. Sometimes we descended to some small distance, and at others amused ourselves with rolling large fragments of rocks down the precipice; and these many times required the joint strength of us all, though we often saw the same performed by the mere force of the wind. But we always took care in our excursions not to go so far, but that on the least appearance of the clouds gathering about our cottage, which often happened very suddenly, we could regain our shelter. The door of our hut was fastened with thongs of leather, and on the inside not the smallest crevice was left unstopped; besides which, it was very compactly covered with straw. But notwithstanding all our care, the wind penetrated through. The days were often little better than the nights; and all the light we enjoyed was that of a lamp or two, which we kept burning, that we might distinguish one another, and improve our time as much as possible in reading. Though our hut was small, and crowded with inhabitants, besides the heat of the lamps, yet the intenseness of the cold was such, that every one of us was obliged to have a chafingdish of coals. These precautions would have rendered the rigour of the climate supportable, had not the imminent danger of perishing by being blown down the precipice roused us, every time it snowed, to encounter the severity of the outward air, and sally out with shovels, to free the roof of our hut from the masses of snow which were gathering on it. Nor would it, without this precaution, have been able to support the weight. We were not, indeed, without servants and Indians; but they were so benumbed with the

cold, that it was with great difficulty we could get them out of a small tent, where they kept a continual fire. So that all we could obtain from them was, to take their turns in this labour; and even then they went very unwillingly about it, and consequently performed it slowly.

It may be easily conceived what we suffered from the asperities of such a climate. Our feet were swelled, and so tender that we could not even bear the heat, and walking was attended with extreme pain. Our hands were covered with chilblains; our lips swelled and chopped; so that every motion, in speaking or the like, drew blood; consequently we were obliged to a strict taciturnity, and but little disposed to laugh, an extension of the lips producing fissures very painful for two or three days together.

Our common food in this inhospitable region was a little rice boiled with some flesh or fowl, which we procured from Quito; and instead of fluid water our pot was filled with ice: we had the same resource with regard to what we drank; and while we were eating, every one was obliged to keep his plate over a chafingdish of coals, to prevent his provisions from freezing. The same was done with regard to the water. At first we imagined that drinking strong liquors would diffuse a heat through the body, and consequently render it less sensible of the painful sharpness of the cold; but, to our surprise, we felt no manner of strength in them, nor were they any greater preservative against the cold than common water. For this reason, together with the apprehension that they might prove detrimental to our health, besides the danger of contracting an ill habit, we discontinued their use, having recourse to them but very seldom, and then sparingly. We frequently gave a small quantity to our Indians, together with part of the provisions which were continually sent us from Quito, besides a daily salary of four times as much as they usually earn.

But notwithstanding all these encouragements, we found it impossible to keep the Indians together. On their first feeling the rigours of the climate, their thoughts were immediately turned on deserting us. The first instance we had of this kind was so unexpected, that, had not one of a better disposition than the rest staid with us, and acquainted us of their design, it might have proved of very bad consequence. The affair was this; there being on the top of the rock no room for pitching a tent for them, they used every evening to retire to a cave at the foot of the mountain, where, besides a natural diminution of the cold, they could keep a continual fire; and consequently enjoyed more comfortable quarters than their masters. Before they withdrew at night, they fastened on the outside the door of our hut, which was so low that it was impossible to go in or out without stooping; and as every night the hail and snow which had fallen formed a wall against the door, it was the business of one or two to come up early and remove this obstruction, that, when we pleased, we might open the door. For though our Negro servants were lodged in a little tent, their hands and feet were so covered with chilblains, that they would rather have suffered themselves to have been killed than move. The Indians therefore came constantly up to dispatch this work betwixt nine and ten in the morning: but we had not been there above four or five days, when we were not a little alarmed to see ten, eleven, and twelve come, without any news of our labourers; when we were relieved by the honest servant mentioned above, who had withstood the seduction of his countrymen, and informed us of the desertion of the four others. After great difficulty, he opened a way for us to come out, when we all fell to clearing our habitation from the masses of snow. We then sent the Indian to the corregidor of Quito, with advice of our condition, who, with equal dispatch, sent others, threatening to chastise

them severely, if they were wanting in their duty.

But the fear of punishment was not sufficient to induce them to support the rigour of our situation; for within two days we missed them. On this second desertion the corregidor, to prevent other inconveniences, sent four Indians under the care of an alcalde, and gave orders for their being relieved every fourth day.

Twenty-three tedious days we spent on this rock, viz. to the 6th of September, and even without any possibility of finishing our observations of the angles; for when it was fair and clear weather with us, the others, on whose summits were erected the signals which formed the triangles for measuring the degrees of the meridian, were hid in clouds; and when (as we conjectured, for we could never plainly discern them) those were clear, Pichincha was involved in clouds. It was therefore necessary to erect our signals in a lower situation and in a more favourable region. This, however, did not produce any change in our habitation till December, when, having finished the observations which particularly concerned Pichincha, we proceeded to others; but with no abatement either of inconveniencies, cold or fatigue, the places where we made all our observations being necessarily on the highest parts of the deserts; so that the only respite, in which we enjoyed some little ease, was during the short interval of passing from one to the other.

In all our stations subsequent to that on Pichincha, during our fatiguing mensuration of the degrees of the meridian, each company lodged in a field-tent, which, though small, we found less inconvenient than our Pichincha hut, though at the same time we had more trouble, being oftener obliged to clear it from the snow, as the weight of it would otherwise have demolished the tent. At first, indeed, we pitched it in the most sheltered places; but, on

taking a resolution that the tents themselves should serve for signals, to prevent the inconvenience of those of wood, we removed them to a more exposed situation, where the impetuosity of the winds sometimes tore up the piquets, and blew them down. Then we were not a little pleased with our having brought supernumerary tents, and with our dexterity in pitching another instead of that which the wind had torn away. Indeed, without this precaution, we should have been in the utmost danger of perishing. In the desert of Asuay we particularly experienced the benefit of this expedient; three tents belonging to our company being obliged to be pitched one after another, till at last they all became unfit for use, and two stout poles were broken. In this terrible condition our only resource was to quit the post, which was next to the signal of Sinasaguan, and shelter ourselves in a breach or chasm. The two companies were both at that time on this desert, so that the sufferings of both were equal. The Indians who attended us, not willing to bear the severity of the cold, and disgusted with the frequent labour of clearing the tent from the snow, at the first ravages of the wind deserted us. Thus we were obliged to perform every thing ourselves, till others were sent us from a seat about three leagues distant at the bottom of the mountain.

While we were thus labouring under a variety of difficulties from the wind, snow, frost, and the cold, which we here found more severe than in any other part; forsaken by our Indians, little or no provisions, a scarcity of fuel, and, in a manner, destitute of shelter, the good priest of Cannar, a town situated at the foot of these cordilleras, south-west from the signal of Sinasaguan, about five leagues from it, and the road very difficult, was offering up his prayers for us; for he, and all the Spaniards of the town, from the blackness of the clouds, gave us over for lost; so that, after finishing our observations, when we passed

through the town, they viewed us with astonishment, and received us with the most cordial signs of delight, adding their congratulations, as if we had, amidst the most threatening dangers, obtained a glorious victory. And, doubtless, our operations must appear to them a very extraordinary performance, if we consider the inexpressible horror with which they view those places where we had passed so many days.

It was at first determined to erect signals of wood in the form of a pyramid; but to render our stay in the piercing colds of these regions as short as possible, we abandoned that intention, of which there would have been no end; because, after remaining several days in the densest parts of the clouds, when a clear interval happened, the signals could not be distinguished: some the winds had blown down, and others had been carried away by the Indians who tended their cattle on the sides of the mountains, for the sake of the timber and ropes. To remedy which, the only expedient was to make the very tents in which we lodged serve for signals; for the orders of the magistrates, and threatenings of the priests, were of little consequence in such a desert country, where it was almost impossible to discover the delinquents.

The deserts of the mountains of Pambamarca and Pichincha were the noviciates, in which we were inured to the severe life we led from the beginning of August 1737 to the end of July 1739. During which time, our company occupied thirty-five deserts; and that of Don George Juan, thirty-two; the particulars of which shall be enumerated, together with the names of all those on which we erected signals for forming the triangles; in all which the inconveniencies were the same, except that they became less sensible, in proportion as our bodies became inured to fatigue, and naturalized to the inclemencies of those regions; so that in time we were reconciled

to a continual solitude, coarse provisions, and often a scarcity of these. The diversity of temperatures did not in the least affect us, when we descended from the intense cold of one of those deserts into the plains and valleys, where the heat, though but moderate, seemed excessive to those coming from such frozen regions. Lastly, without any concern, we encountered the dangers unavoidable among those steep precipices, and a great variety of others to which we were continually exposed. The little cabins of the Indians and the stalls for cattle scattered up and down on the skirts of the mountains, and where we used to lodge in our passage from one desert to another, were to us spacious palaces; mean villages appeared like splendid cities, and the conversation of a priest, and two or three of his companions, charmed us like the banquet of Xenophon: the little markets held in those towns, when we happened to pass through them on a Sunday, seemed to us as if filled with all the variety of Seville fair. Thus the least object became magnified, when we descended for two or three days from our exile, which, in some places, lasted fifty days successively; and it must be owned, that there were particular occasions when our sufferings were such, that nothing could have supported us under them, and animated us to persevere, but that honour and fidelity which jointly conspired to induce both companies, whatever should be the consequence, not to leave imperfect a work so long desired by all civilized nations, and so particularly countenanced by the two powerful monarchs our sovereigns.

It may not be amiss here to inform the reader of the different opinions conceived by the neighbouring inhabitants, with regard to our enterprise. Some admired our resolution, others could not tell what construction to put upon our perseverance; and even those of the best parts and education among them were utterly at a loss what to think. They made it their business to examine the Indians concerning the

life we led, but the answers they received only tended to increase their doubts and astonishment. They saw that those people, though naturally hardy, robust, and inured to fatigues, could not be prevailed upon, notwithstanding the encouragement of double pay, to continue any time with us. The serenity in which we lived on those dreaded places was not unknown to them; and they saw with what tranquillity and constancy we passed from one scene of solitude and labour to another. This to them appeared so strange, that they were at a loss what to attribute it to. Some considered us as little better than lunatics; others more sagaciously imputed the whole to covetousness, and that we were certainly endeavouring to discover some rich minerals by particular methods of our own invention; others again suspected that we dealt in magic; but all were involved in a labyrinth of confusion with regard to the nature of our design. And the more they reflected on it, the greater was their perplexity, being unable to discover any thing proportionate to the pains and hardships we underwent. And even when we informed them of the real motive of this expedition, which caused so much astonishment, their ignorance of its importance would not suffer them to give credit to what we said; suspecting that we concealed, under the veil of an incomprehensible chimera, our real practices, of which, as I have already observed, they had no good opinion.

Among several pleasant adventures which this occasioned, I shall only mention two, both which are still fresh in my memory; and may serve to illustrate the strange ideas these ignorant people formed of us. While we were at the signal of Vengotasin, erected on a desert at no great distance from the town of Latacunga, about a league from the place where we had pitched our field-tent was a cow-house, where we constantly passed the night; for, the ascent not

being remarkably difficult, we could every morning, in fair weather, return soon enough to the tent to begin our observations. One morning, as we were passing to the signal, we saw at a distance three or four Indians, in appearance on their knees; and we found indeed, on our approaching nearer, that this was their real posture; we also observed that their hands were joined, and that they uttered words in their language with the greatest fervour and the most supplicant accent; but, by the position of their eyes, it was evident that we were the persons whom they thus addressed. We several times made signs for them to rise, but they still kept their posture till we were got at a considerable distance. We had scarce begun to prepare our instruments within the tent, when we were alarmed with a repetition of the same supplicant vociferations. On going out to know the cause, we found the same Indians again on their knees before the tent; nor were we able, by all the signs we could make, to raise them from that posture. There fortunately happened at that time to be with us a servant who understood both the Indian and Spanish languages; and having directed him to ask these poor people what they wanted of us, we were informed, that the eldest of them was the father of the others, and that his ass being either strayed or stolen, he came to us, as persons who knew every thing, to entreat us to commiserate his great loss, and put him in a method of recovering his beast. This simplicity of the Indians afforded us no small entertainment; and though we did all we could, by means of our interpreter, to undeceive them, we found they were equally tenacious of this strange error as of genuflection; and would still believe that nothing was hid from us; till, having wearied themselves with these clamorous vociferations, and finding we took no notice of them, they retired, with all the marks of extreme sorrow that we would not condescend to in-

form them where they might find the ass; and with a firm persuasion that our refusal proceeded from ill-nature, and not from ignorance.

The other adventure I shall mention, happened to myself in particular, and not with simple and ignorant Indian peasants, but with one of the principal inhabitants of Cuença. While the whole company were on the mountain of Bueran, not far from the town of Cannar, I received a message from the priest of that place, informing me, that two Jesuits of my acquaintance were passing that way, and, if I was desirous of seeing them, I might find them at his house. As I was cheerfully descending the mountain to enjoy this pleasing invitation, I happened to be overtaken by a gentleman of Cuença, who was going to take a view of his lands in that jurisdiction, and had observed me coming from our tent. He was, it seems, acquainted with my name, though he had never seen me; but observing me dressed in the garb of the Mestizos, and the lowest class of people, the only habit in which we could perform our operations, he took me for one of the servants, and began to examine me; and I was determined not to undeceive him till he had finished. Among other things, he told me, that neither he nor any body else would believe, that the ascertaining the figure and magnitude of the earth, as we pretended, could ever induce us to lead such a dismal and uncouth life; that, however we might deny it, we had doubtless discovered many rich minerals on those lofty deserts; adding, that persons in his circumstances were not to be satisfied with fine words. Here I laboured to remove the prejudices he entertained against our operations; but all I could say only tended to confirm him in his notion; and, at parting, he added, that, doubtless, by our profound knowledge in the magic art, we might make much greater discoveries than those who were ignorant of it. These opinions were blended with others equally absurd and ridi-

culous; but I found it impossible to undeceive him, and accordingly left him to enjoy his own notions.

Our series of triangles in the south part being finished, and a second base measured by each company to prove the truth of our work, we began our astronomical observations; but, our instruments not being perfectly adapted to that intention, we were obliged in the month of December of the same year to return to Quito, in order to construct another, on whose accuracy we could safely rely; and this employed us till the first of August of the following year 1740; when, without any further loss of time, we again repaired to Cuença, and immediately began our observations: but these, being very tedious, were not finished before the end of September; the atmosphere of that country being very unfavourable to astronomical observations. For, in the deserts, the clouds in which we were so frequently involved hindered us from discerning the other signals; and in the city, over which they spread a kind of perpetual pavilion, they hid the stars from us while they passed the meridian; but patience and resolution, inspired by the importance of our enterprise, having enabled us at last to perform our task on the south side of the equator, we prepared for our journey to the north of it, in order to make the astronomical observations at the other extremity of the arch of the meridian, and thus put the finishing hand to our work: but this was for some time retarded by an accident of importance which called us to Lima, as will be related hereafter.

In December 1743, the reasons which detained us at Lima, Guayaquil, and in Chili, no longer subsisting, we returned to Quito in January 1744, when Don George Juan and I prolonged the arch of the meridian four triangles, by which it was extended to the place where M. Godin, in 1740, had made the second astronomical observation, and which he now repeated, and finished in the month of May 1744.

Mess. Bouguer and M. de la Condamine having at that time finished the several parts assigned to them, had left Quito, in order to return to France; the former by the way of Carthagena, and the latter by the river of the Amazons; but the rest of the company remained there some time; some for fear of being taken by the enemy, some for want of the means to defray the charges necessary in so long a journey, and others on account of their having contracted some obligations, and were unwilling to leave the country till they could discharge them. So that in the former only the natural desire of returning to their country prevailed, in order there to repose themselves after such a series of labours and hardships, by which the health and vigour of all were in some measure impaired.

We found from accurate observations, that the city of Quito is situated in the latitude of 0 deg. 13 min. 33 sec. south, and in 298 deg. 15 min. 45 sec. of longitude from the meridian of Teneriff. It stands in the inland parts of the continent of South America, and on the eastern skirts of the west Cordillera of the Andes. Its distance from the coast of the South Sea is about 35 leagues west. Contiguous to it, on the north-west, is the mountain and desert of Pichincha, not less famous among strangers for its great height, than among the natives for the great riches it has been imagined to contain ever since the times of idolatry; and this only from a vague and unsupported tradition. The city is built on the acclivity of that mountain, and surrounded by others of a middling height, among the breaches, or gucycos, as they are called here, which form the eminences of Pichincha. Some of these breaches are of a considerable depth, and run quite through it, so that great part of the buildings stand upon arches. This renders the streets irregular and extremely uneven, some being built on the ascents, descents, and summits of the breaches. This city, with regard to mag-

nitude, may be compared to one of the second order in Europe; but the unevenness of its situation is a great disadvantage to its appearance.

To form a right judgment of the happy temperature of the air of Quito, experience must be made use of, to correct the errors which would arise from mere speculation; as without that unerring guide, or the information of history, who would imagine, that in the centre of the torrid zone, or rather under the equinoctial, not only the heat is very tolerable, but even, in some parts, the cold painful; and that others enjoy all the delights and advantages of a perpetual spring, their fields being always covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the most lively colours! The mildness of the climate, free from the extremes of cold and heat, and the constant equality of the nights and days, render a country pleasant and fertile, which uninformed reason would, from its situation, conclude to be uninhabitable: Nature has here scattered her blessings with so liberal a hand, that this country surpasses those of the temperate zones, where the vicissitudes of winter and summer, and the change from heat to cold, cause the extremes of both to be more sensibly felt.

The method taken by Nature to render this country a delightful habitation, consists in an assemblage of circumstances, of which if any were wanting, it would either be utterly uninhabitable, or subject to the greatest inconveniences. But by this extraordinary assemblage, the effect of the rays of the sun is averted, and the heat of that glorious planet moderated. The principal circumstance in this assemblage is its elevated situation above the surface of the sea; or, rather, of the whole earth; and thus not only the reflexion of the heat is diminished, but by the elevation of this country, the winds are more subtile, congelation more natural, and the heat abated. These are such natural effects as must doubtless be attributed to its situation; and is the only circumstance from

whence such prodigies of nature, as are observed here, can proceed. In one part are mountains of a stupendous height and magnitude, having their summits covered with snow; on the other, volcanoes flaming within, while their summits, chasms, and apertures, are involved in ice. The plains are temperate; the breaches and valleys hot; and, lastly, according to the disposition of the country, its high or low situation, we find all the variety of gradations of temperature, possible to be conceived between the two extremes of heat and cold.

Quito is so happily situated, that neither the heat nor cold is troublesome, though the extremes of both may be felt in its neighbourhood; a singularity sufficiently demonstrated by the following thermometrical experiments. On the 31st of May, 1736, the liquor in the thermometer stood at 1011: at half an hour after twelve at noon at 1014: on the first of June at six in the morning at 1011: and at noon at 1012½. But what renders this equality still more delightful is, that it is constant throughout the whole year, the difference between the seasons being scarce perceptible. Thus the mornings are cool, the remainder of the day warm, and the nights of an agreeable temperature. Hence the reason is plain, why the inhabitants of Quito make no difference in their dress during the whole year; some wearing silks or light stuffs, at the same time others are dressed in garments of substantial cloth; and the former as little incommoded by the cold, as the latter are by heat.

The winds are healthy, and blow continually, but never with any violence. Their usual situations are north and south, though they sometimes shift to other quarters, without any regard to the season of the year. Their incessant permanence, notwithstanding their constant variations, preserves the country from any violent or even disagreeable impressions of the rays of the sun. So that, were it not for some inconveniences to which this country is subject, it might

be considered as the most happy spot on the whole earth. But when these disagreeable incidents are considered, all its beauties are buried in obscurity; for here are dreadful and amazing tempests of thunder and lightning, and the still more destructive subterraneous earthquakes, which often surprise the inhabitants in the midst of security. The whole morning, till one or two in the afternoon, the weather is generally extremely delightful; a bright sun, serene and clear sky, are commonly seen; but afterwards the vapours begin to rise, the whole atmosphere is covered with black clouds, which bring on such dreadful tempests of thunder and lightning, that all the neighbouring mountains tremble, and the city too often feels their dreadful effects. Lastly, the clouds discharge themselves in such impetuous torrents of rain, that in a very short time the streets appear like rivers, and the squares, though situated on a slope, like lakes. This dreadful scene generally continues till near sun-set, when the weather clears up, and Nature again puts on the beautiful appearance of the morning. Sometimes, indeed, the rains continue all the night, and they have been known to last three or four days successively.

On the other hand, this general course of the weather has its exceptions, three, four, or six, or even eight fine days succeeding each other; though, after raining six or eight days in the manner above mentioned, it is rare that any falls during the two or three succeeding. But, from the most judicious observations, it may be concluded, that these intervals of fine or foul weather make up only one fifth of the days of the year.

The distinction of winter and summer consists in a very minute difference observable between the one and the other. The interval between the month of September, and April, May, or June, is here called the winter season; and the other months compose the summer. In the former season the rain chiefly prevails, and in the second the inhabitants frequently

enjoy intervals of fine weather; but whenever the rains are discontinued for above a fortnight, the inhabitants are in the utmost consternation, and public prayers are offered up for their return. On the other hand, when they continue any time without intermission, the like fears return, and the churches are again crowded with supplicants for obtaining fine weather. For a long drought here is productive of dangerous distempers; and a continual rain, without any intervals of sunshine, destroys the fruits of the earth: thus the inhabitants are under a continual anxiety. Besides the advantages of the rains for moderating the intense rays of the sun, they are also of the greatest benefit in cleansing the streets and squares of the city, which, by the filthiness of the common people at all hours, are every where full of ordure.

Earthquakes cannot be accounted a less terrible circumstance than any of the former; and if not so frequent as in other cities of these parts, they are far from being uncommon, and often very violent. While we continued in this city and its jurisdiction, I particularly remember two, when several country-seats and farm-houses were thrown down, and the greater part of the numerous inhabitants buried in ruins.

During the continuance of the north and north-east winds, which are the coldest from passing over the frosty deserts, the inhabitants are afflicted with very painful catarrhs, called pechugueras. The air is then something disagreeable, the mornings being so cold as to require warmer clothing; but the sun soon disperses this inconvenience.

I shall now proceed to treat of the government of Maynas, the eastern limit of the jurisdiction of Quito. This is particularly entitled to a separate and succinct description, as the great river Maranon, or Amazons, flows through it.

Were I to confine myself in general to the extent of

the government of Maynas, my description would be very imperfect, and want the noblest object of the reader's curiosity, a description of the river of the Amazons.

As, among the great number of roots by which nourishment is conveyed to a stately tree, it is difficult from the great length of some, and the magnitude of others, to determine precisely that from which the product is derived; so the same perplexity occurs in discovering the spring of the river Maranon; all the provinces of Peru as it were emulating each other in sending it supplies for its increase, together with many torrents which precipitate themselves from the Cordilleras, and, increased by the snow and ice, join to form a kind of sea of that which at first hardly deserves the name of a river.

The sources by which this river is increased are so numerous, that very properly every one which issues out of the eastern Cordillera of the Andes, from the government of Popayan, where the river Caqueta or Yupura has its source, to the province of Guanuco, within thirty leagues of Lima, may be reckoned among the number.

The most received opinion, concerning the remotest source of the river Maranon, is that which places it in the jurisdiction of Tarma, issuing from the lake of Lauricocha, near the city of Guanuco, in 11 deg. S. lat. whence it directs its course S. almost to 12 deg. through the country belonging to this jurisdiction, and, forming insensibly a circuit, flows eastward through the country of Juaxa; whence, after being precipitated from the east side of the Cordillera of the Andes, it proceeds northward; and, leaving the jurisdictions of Mayabamba and Chachapoyas, it continues its course to the city of Jaen, the latitude of which is placed in 5 degrees 21 minutes. There, by a second circuit, it runs toward the E. in a continual direction; till at length it falls into the ocean, where its mouth is of such an enormous breadth, that it reaches from the equinoc-

tial to beyond the first deg. of north lat. Its distance from Lauricocha lake to Jaen, its windings included, is about 200 leagues; and this city being 30 deg. to the W. of its mouth, is 600 leagues from it, which, with the several circuits and windings, may without excess be computed at 900 such leagues: so that its whole course, from Lauricocha to its influx into the ocean, is at least 1100 leagues, or 3500 English miles.

From the province of Quito there are three ways to the river Maranon or Amazons; but all extremely troublesome and fatiguing, from the nature of the climate, and being full of rocks, that a great part of the distance must be travelled on foot; for, being so little frequented, no care has been taken to mend them, whence they are even more dangerous than the others in South America, of which we have given a description.

The breadth and depth of this river is answerable to its vast length; and in the pougos or streights, and other parts where its breadth is contracted, its depth is augmented proportionally. And hence many are deceived by the appearance of other rivers which join it, their breadth causing them to be taken for the real Maranon; but the mind is soon convinced of its error, by observing the little increase which the Maranon receives from the influx of them. This large river, by continuing its course without any visible change in its breadth or rapidity, demonstrates that the others, though before the object of astonishment, are not comparable with it. In other parts it displays its whole grandeur; dividing itself into several large branches, including a multitude of islands, particularly in the intermediate space between the mouth of the Napo and that of the Coari, which lies something to the westward of the river Negro; where, dividing itself into many branches, it forms an infinite number of islands. Betwixt the mission of Peba, which is at present the last of the Spanish, and that of San Pablo the first of the Portuguese, M. de

la Condamine, and Don Pedro Maldonado, having measured the breadth of some of these branches, found them nearly equal to 1800 yards, that is, almost a sea league. At the influx of the river of Chuchunga, the place where the Maranon becomes navigable, and where M. de la Condamine first embarked on it, he found its breadth to be 270 yards: and though this was near its beginning, the lead did not reach the bottom at 56 yards, notwithstanding this sounding was made at a great distance from the middle of the river.

This river, which exceeds any one mentioned either in sacred or profane history, has three names; and is equally known by them all, each implying its stupendous majesty, and importing its superiority to any other in Europe, Africa, or Asia. And this seems to have been intended by the singularity of its having three different names; each of them enigmatically comprehending those of the most famous in the other three parts of the world; the Danube in Europe, the Ganges in Asia, and the Nile in Africa.

The names which express the grandeur of this river are the Maranon, the Amazons, and Orellana. But it is not known with certainty that either of them was the original, before its discovery by the Spaniards, given it by the Indians; though very probably it was not without many; for, as various nations inhabited its banks, it was natural for every one to call it by a particular name, or at least to make use of that which had been previously given it. But either the first Spaniards who sailed on it neglected this inquiry, or the former names became confounded with others given it since that epocha, so that now no vestiges of them remain.

After this account of the course and names of this river, I shall proceed to the discovery of it, and the most remarkable voyages made thereon. Vicente Yanez Pinzon, one of those who had accompanied the admiral don Christopher Columbus in his first

voyage, was the person who discovered the mouth through which this river, as I have before taken notice, discharges itself into the ocean. This adventurer, at his own expense, in 1499, fitted out four ships, discoveries being the reigning taste of that time. With this view he steered for the Canary Islands; and after passing by those of Cape de Verd, continued his course directly west, till on the 26th of January, in the year 1500, he had sight of land; and called it Cabo de Consolacion, having just weathered a most violent storm. This promontory is now called Cabo de San Augustin. Here he landed, and after taking a view of the country, coasted along it northward; sometimes he lost sight of it, when on a sudden he found himself in a fresh water sea, out of which he supplied himself with what he wanted; and being determined to trace it to its source, he sailed upwards, and came to the mouth of the river Maranon, where the islands made a most charming appearance. Here he staid some time, carrying on a friendly traffic with the Indians, who were courteous and humane to these strangers. He continued advancing up the river, new countries appearing still as he sailed further.

To this maritime discovery succeeded that by land in the year 1540, under the conduct of Gonzalo Pizarro, who was commissioned for this enterprise by his brother the marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, on the report which Gonzalo Dias de Pineda had made of the country of La Canela in the year 1536, at the same time making him governor of Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at the country of Los Canelos; and following the course of a river, either the Napo or Coca, it is not certain which, though more probably the first, met with unsurmountable difficulties and hardships; and seeing himself destitute of provisions of every kind, and that his people, by feeding on the buds and rinds of trees, snakes, and other creatures, wasted away one after another, he deter-

mined to build a vessel, in order to seek provisions at the place where this river joined another; the Indians having informed him that there he would meet with a great plenty. The command of this vessel he gave to Francisco de Orellana, his lieutenant-general and confident, recommending to him all the diligence and punctuality which their extremity required. After sailing eighty leagues, Orellana arrived at the junction of the two rivers, but met with nothing of what he had been sent for; being disappointed in the provisions he sought, the trees not bearing any fruit, or the Indians having already gathered it. His return to Pizarro seemed very difficult, if not impracticable, on account of the rapidity of the current; besides, he could not think of returning, without bringing with him that relief so earnestly expected; so that, after long debating the matter with himself, he determined, without the privity of his companions, to sail with the current to the sea. But this could not long remain a secret; the hoisting the sails sufficiently demonstrating his intentions; and some vehemently opposing such a desertion, as they called it, were near coming to blows. But at length Orellana, by plausible reasons and magnificent promises, pacified them; and the opposition ceasing, he continued his voyage, after setting ashore Hernando Sanchez de Vargas to perish with hunger, as being the ring-leader of the malecontents; and persisting in his invectives against Orellana's project.

Pizarro, surprised at having no account of Orellana, marched by land to the place where he had ordered him, and near it met with Hernando Sanchez de Vargas, who acquainted him with the whole affair of the vessel; at which Pizarro seeing himself without resource, a considerable part of his men dead, the other so exhausted with fatigue and hunger that they dropped down as they marched, and those in the best state reduced to mere skeletons; he determined to return to Quito, which, after fatigues and hard-

ships even greater than the former, he at last reached with a handful of men in the year 1542, having only reconnoitred some rivers, and the adjacent country; a service disproportionate to the loss of so many men, and the miseries suffered in this enterprise.

This was the first expedition of any consequence, to make discovery of the river Maranon: and if the success of Pizarro was not equal to his force and zeal, he was at least the instrument of its being entirely accomplished by another; and to his resolution in pressing forward through difficulties and dangers, and by his expedient of building the armed vessel, must, in some measure, be attributed the happy event of Orellana's voyage, who, with a constancy which showed him worthy of his general's favour, reconnoitred the famous river of the Amazons through its whole extent, the adjacent country, its innumerable islands, and the multitude and difference of nations inhabiting its banks. But this remarkable expedition deserves a more particular detail.

Orellana began to sail down the river in the year 1541; and in his progress through the several nations along its banks, entered into a friendly conference with many, having prevailed upon them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the kings of Spain formally, and with the consent of the caciques took possession of it. Others, not so docile, endeavoured to oppose, with a large fleet of canoes, his further navigation: and with these he had several sharp encounters. In one Indian nation bravery was so general, that the women fought with no less intrepidity than the men; and by their dexterity showed that they were trained up to the exercise of arms. This occasioned Orellana to call them Amazons; which name also passed to the river. The scene of this action, according to Orellana's own account, and the description of the place, is thought to have been at some distance below the junction of the Negro and Maranon. Thus he continued his voyage till the 26th of August, in

the same year; when, having passed a prodigious number of islands, he saw himself in the ocean. He now proceeded to the isle of Cubagua, or, according to others, to that of La Trinidad, with a design of going to Spain, to solicit for a patent as governor of these countries. The distance he sailed on this river, according to his own computation, was eighteen hundred leagues, or nearly 6000 English miles.

This discovery was followed by another, but not so complete; it was undertaken in the year 1559 or 1560, under Pedro de Orsua, by commission from the marquis de Cancte, viceroy at Peru, who at the same time conferred on him the title of governor of all his conquests. But the first news of Orsua was, that he and the greatest part of his men were killed in an ambuscade by the Indians; a catastrophe entirely owing to his own ill conduct, which destroyed the great armament made for this enterprise, and created an aversion to designs liable to such dangers.

In the year 1602, the reverend Raphael Ferrer, a Jesuit, having undertaken the mission of Cofanes, fell down the Maranon, and attentively surveyed the country as far as the conflux of the two rivers where Orellana had left Hernando Sanchez de Vargas; and at his return to Quito gave a very circumstantial account of what he had seen, and the different nations he had discovered.

Another, but fortuitous view of the river was taken in 1616. Twenty Spanish soldiers, quartered in Santiago de las Montanas, in the province of Yaguarsongo, pursued a company of Indians, who, after murdering some of their countrymen in the city, fled up the country, and embarked on the Maranon in their canoes. The soldiers, in falling down the river, came to the nation of the Maynas, who received them in a friendly manner: and after some discourse, showed a disposition of submitting to the king of Spain, and desired missionaries might be sent them. The soldiers on their return to Santiago,

having made a report of the good inclination of the Maynas, and their desire of being instructed in the Christian religion, an account was sent to the prince of Esquiloche, viceroy of Peru: and in 1618, don Diego Baca de Vega was appointed governor of Maynas and Maranon: and may be said to have been in reality the first, as neither Pizarro, Orellana, nor Orsua, though invested with the title, were ever in possession of it, having made no absolute conquests; a necessary circumstance towards realizing the title.

This expedition was performed in 1635 and 1636, and was succeeded by that of two Franciscans, with others of the same order, who set out from Quito with a determined zeal for propagating Christianity among the nations on the Maranon. But many of them, unable to support themselves under the fatigues and hardships natural in such a country, and discouraged with the little fruit their good desires produced, after wandering among mountains, woods, and deserts, returned to Quito, leaving only two, Dominico de Brieda and Andrew de Toledo, both lay-brothers. These, either from a religious zeal, or naturally more brave and hardy, or of greater curiosity, ventured to penetrate further into those dreary wastes. They were indeed attended by six soldiers, remaining of a whole company who had been sent under captain Juan de Palacio, for the safeguard of the missionaries; but so many of them had returned with the religious to Quito, that these six and the captain were all that remained; and that officer, a few days after, lost his life in an action against the Indians.

The six soldiers and two lay-brothers, however, continued with undaunted resolution to travel through countries inhabited by savages, unknown, and full of precipices on all sides; at length they committed themselves to the stream, in a kind of launch; and after many fatigues, hardships, and here and there a rencounter, reached the city of Para, at that time

dependent on, or united with, the captainship of the Maranon, the governor of which resided at San Louis, whither they went, and gave him an account of what they had observed in this navigation.

I now come to the most remarkable paramos, or deserts, of the kingdom of Quito, and the rivers flowing through that country, which, among many other natural curiosities, is peculiarly remarkable for the disposition of the ground, and its prodigious masses of snow, that exceed all comparison.

It has been before observed, that all the dependencies of the jurisdictions of this province are situated betwixt the two Cordilleras of the Andes; and that the air is more or less cold according to the height of the mountains, and the ground more or less arid. These arid tracts are called paramos, or deserts; for, though all the Cordilleras are dry or arid, some of them are much more so than others; for the continual snows and frost render them absolutely uninhabitable, even by the beasts; nor is there a single plant to be found upon them.

Some of these mountains, seemingly as it were founded on others, rise to a most astonishing height, and are covered with snow even to their summits. The latter we shall more particularly treat of, as they are the most remarkable and curious objects.

The paramo of Asuay, formed by the junction of the two Cordilleras, is not of this class; for, though remarkable for its excessive coldness and aridity, its height does not exceed that of the Cordilleras in general, and is much lower than that of Pichincha and Corazon. Its height is the degree of the climate, where a continual congelation or freezing commences; and as the mountains exceed this height, so are they perpetually covered with ice and snow; that from a determined point above Carabucu for instance, or the surface of the sea, the congelation is found at the same height in all the mountains. From barometrical experiments made at Pucaguayco, on the moun-

tain Cotopaxi, the height of the mercury was 16 inches $5\frac{1}{8}$ lines; whence we determined the height of that place to be 1023 toises above the plain of Carabucu, and that of the latter above the superficies of the sea about 1268. Thus the height of Pucaguayco, above the surface of the sea, is 2291 toises. The signal which we placed on this mountain was thirty or forty toises above the ice, or point of continual congelation; and the perpendicular height from the commencement of this point to the summit of the mountain, we found, from some geometrical observations made for that purpose, to be about 880 toises. Thus the summit of Cotopaxi is elevated 3126 toises above the surface of the sea, or something above three geographical miles; and 639 toises higher than the top of Pichincha. These are mountains I intend to speak of; and the height of them all, considering the greatness of it, may be said to be nearly equal.

In these Cordilleras, the most southern mountain is that of Mecas, more properly called Sanguay, though in this country better known by the former, lying in the jurisdiction of the same name. It is of a prodigious height, and the far greatest part of the whole surface covered with snow. From its summit issues a continual fire, attended with explosions, which are plainly heard at Pintac, a village belonging to the jurisdiction of Quito, and near forty leagues distant from the mountain; and, when the wind is fair, the noise is heard even at Quito itself. The country adjacent to this volcano is totally barren, being covered with cinders ejected by it. In this paramo the river Sanguay has its source. This river cannot be said to be small, but after its junction with another, called the Upano, forms the Payra, a large river which discharges itself into the Maranon.

In the same eastern Cordillera, about six leagues west of the town of Riobamba, is a very high mountain, with two crests, and both of them covered with

snow; that on the north is called Collanes, and that on the south Altar; but the space covered with snow is much less than that of Sanguay and others of this class, its height being proportionally less.

North of the same town, and about seven leagues distant, is the mountain of Tunguragua of a conical figure, and equally steep on all sides. The ground, at its basis, is something lower than that of the Cordillera, especially on the north side, where it seems to rise from the plain on which the villages are situated. On this side, in a small plain betwixt its skirts and the Cordillera, has been built the village of Bannos, so called from its hot medicinal baths, to which there is a great resort from all parts of this jurisdiction. South of Cuença, and not far from another village, called Bannos also, belonging to this jurisdiction, are other hot waters on the summit of an eminence, gushing out through several apertures of four or five inches diameter, and of a heat which hardens eggs sooner than water boiling over the fire. These several streams unite and form a rivulet, the stones and banks of which are tinged with yellow, and the water is of a brackish taste. The upper part of this small eminence is full of crevices, through which issues a continual smoke: a sufficient indication of its containing great quantities of sulphureous and nitrous substances.

North of Riobamba, inclining some degrees to the west, is the mountain of Chunborazo, by the side of which lies the road from Quito to Guayaquil. At first great numbers of the Spaniards perished in passing the vast and dangerous deserts on its declivity; but being at present better acquainted with them, and inured to the climate, such misfortunes are seldom heard of; especially as very few take this road, unless there is the greatest appearance of two or three days of calm and serene weather.

North of this mountain stands that of Carguayraso, which has already been taken notice of.

North of Latacunga, and about five leagues distant

from it, is Cotopaxi, which, towards the north-west and south, extends itself beyond all the others; and which, as I have before observed, became a volcano at the time of the Spaniards' first arrival in this country. In 1743, a new eruption happened, having been some days preceded by a continual rumbling in its bowels. An aperture was made in its summit, and three about the same height near the middle of its declivity, at that time buried under prodigious masses of snow. The ignited substances ejected on that occasion, mixed with a prodigious quantity of ice and snow, melting amidst the flames, were carried down with such astonishing rapidity, that in an instant the plain, from Callo to Latacunga, was overflowed; and, besides its ravages in bearing down houses of the Indians and other poor inhabitants, great numbers of people lost their lives. The river of Latacunga was the channel of this terrible flood, till, being too small for receiving such a prodigious current, it overflowed the adjacent country like a vast lake near the town, and carried away all the buildings within its reach. The inhabitants retired to a spot of higher ground behind their town, of which those parts which stood within the limits of the current were totally destroyed. The dread of still greater devastations did not subside in three days, during which the volcano ejected cinders, while torrents of melted ice and snow poured down its sides. The fire lasted several days, and was accompanied with terrible roarings of the wind rushing through the volcano, and greatly exceeded the great rumblings before heard in its bowels. At last all was quiet, neither fire nor smoke was seen, nor was there any noise to be heard till the following year 1744; when, in the month of May, the flames increased, and forced their passage through several other parts on the sides of the mountain; so that in clear nights, the flames being reflected by the transparent ice, formed a very grand and beautiful illumination. November the 30th, it ejected such

prodigious quantities of fire and ignited substances, that an inundation equal to the former soon ensued; so that the inhabitants of Latacunga gave themselves over for lost. And we ought to acknowledge the Divine protection, that it did not rage when we visited it, having occasion twice to continue some time on its declivity, as we have already shown.

Five leagues to the west of this mountain stands that of Illinisa, whose summit is also bifid, and constantly covered with snow. From it several rivulets derive thsir source; of which those flowing from the northern declivity continue that direction; as those from the southern side also run southward. The latter pay their tribute to the northern ocean, through the large river of the Amazons; while the former discharge themselves into the South-sea, by the river of Emeralds.

North of Cotopaxi is another snowy mountain called Chinculagua, something less than the former, though even that is not to be compared to the others.

The mountain of Cayamburo, which is one of the first magnitude, lies north, some degrees easterly, from Quito, at the distance of about eleven leagues from that city. There is neither appearance nor tradition of its having ever been a volcano. Several rivers issue from it, of which those from the W. and N. run either into the river of Emeralds or that of Mira, but all fall into the South-sea; while those from the E. discharge themselves into the river of the Amazons.

Besides the torrents which precipitate themselves from the snowy mountains, others have their source in the lower parts of the Cordilleras, and at their conflux form very large and noble rivers, which either pay the tribute to the north or south seas, as we shall hereafter observe.

To the before-mentioned particulars of the mountainous deserts, I shall subjoin the phænomena seen there, as subjects equally meriting the curiosity of a

rational reader. At first we were greatly surprised with two on account of their novelty; but frequent observations rendered them familiar. One we saw in Pambamarca, on our first ascent thither; it was a triple circular iris. At break of day the whole mountain was encompassed with very thick clouds, which the rising of the sun dispersed so far as to leave only some vapours of a tenuity not cognizable by the sight: on the opposite side to that where the sun rose, and about ten toises distant from the place where we were standing, we saw, as in a looking-glass, the image of each of us, the head being as it were the centre of three concentric irises: the last or most external colours of one touched the first of the following; and at some distance from them all, was a fourth arch entirely white. These were perpendicular to the horizon; and as the person moved the phænomenon moved also in the same disposition and order. But what was most remarkable, though we were six or seven together, every one saw the phænomenon with regard to himself, and not that relating to others. The diameter of the arches gradually altered with the ascent of the sun above the horizon; and the phænomenon itself, after continuing a long time, insensibly vanished. In the beginning the diameter of the inward iris, taken from its last colour, was about five degrees and a half; and that of the white arch, which circumscribed the others, not less than sixty-seven degrees. At the beginning of the phænomenon, the arches seemed of an oval or elliptical figure, like the disk of the sun; and afterwards became perfectly circular. Each of the least was of a red colour bordered with an orange; and the last followed by a bright yellow, which degenerated into a straw colour, and this turned to a green. But in all the external colour remained red.

On the mountains we also had frequently the pleasure of seeing arches formed by the light of the moon; particularly one on the 4th of April, 1738, about eight

at night, on the plain of Turubamba. But the most singular was one seen by don George Juan, on the mountain of Quinoa-loma, on the 22d of May, 1739, at eight at night. These arches were entirely white, without the mixture of any other colour; and formed along the slope or side of a mountain. That which don George Juan saw consisted of three arches, touching in the same point: the diameter of the inner arch was sixty degrees; and the breadth of the white mark, or delineation, took up a space of five degrees; the two others were in every respect of the same dimensions.

The atmosphere, and the exhalations from the soil, seem more adapted than in any other place for kindling the vapours; meteors being here more frequent, and often very large, last longer, and are nearer the earth than the like phænomena seen in other parts. One of these inflammations, of a very extraordinary largeness, was seen at Quito whilst we were there. I cannot exactly determine the date of its appearance, the paper on which I had written an account of it being lost when I was taken by the English: but the particulars which I remember, are as follow.

About nine at night, a globe of fire appeared to rise from the side of mount Pichincha; and so large, that it spread a light all over the part of the city facing that mountain. The house where I lodged looking that way, I was surprised with an extraordinary light darting through the crevices of the window shutters. On this appearance, and the bustle of the people in the streets, I hastened to the window, and came time enough to see it in the middle of its career, which continued from west to south, till I lost sight of it, being intercepted by the mountain of Panecillo, which lies in that quarter. It was round, and its apparent diameter about a foot. I said that it seemed to rise from the sides of Pichincha; for, to judge from its course, it was behind that mountain where this congeries of inflammable matter was

kindled. In the first half of its visible course, it emitted a prodigious effulgency; then gradually began to grow dim, so that at its occultation behind the Panecillo its light was very faint.

It has already been observed, that while we were at Cuença finishing our astronomical observations in that extremity of the arch of the meridian, we unexpectedly received a letter from the marquis de Villa Garcia, vice-roy of Peru, desiring us to come with all speed to his capital: any delay on our part might have been improper; and we were solicitous not to merit an accusation of the least remissness in his majesty's service. Thus we were under a necessity of suspending our observations for some time; though all that remained was the second astronomical observation, northward, where the series of our triangles terminated.

The occasion of this delay arose from an account received by the vice-roy, that war being declared between Spain and England, the latter was sending a considerable fleet on some secret designs into those seas. Several precautions had been taken to defeat any attempt; and the vice-roy, being pleased to conceive that we might be of some use to him in acquitting himself with honour on this occasion, committed to us the execution of some of his measures; giving us to understand, that the choice he made of us was the most convincing proof of the high opinion he entertained of our abilities; and indeed our obligations were the greater, as the distance of four hundred leagues had not obliterated us from his remembrance, of which he now gave us so honourable a proof.

On the 24th of September, 1740, the vice-roy's letter was delivered to us, and we immediately repaired to Quito, in order to furnish ourselves with necessaries for the journey.

Every thing being performed, we set out from that city on the 30th of October, and determined to go by Guaranda and Guayaquil; for though there is a road by land through Cuença and Loja, yet the other

seemed to us the most expeditious, as the ways are neither so bad, nor mules and other beasts of carriage so difficult to be met with. The long stays in villages were here also little to be apprehended, which are frequently rendered necessary in the other road by inundations, rivers, and precipices.

On the 30th of October we reached the Bodegas, or warehouses of Babayoho, where taking a canoe we went down the river to Guayaquil; and embarking on board a small ship bound for Puna, we anchored in that port November the 3d. At this place we hired a large balza, which brought us through the gulph to Machala. For though the usual route is by the Salto de Tumbez, we were obliged to alter our course, the pilot not being well acquainted with the entrance of a creek, through which you pass to the Salto.

On the 5th in the morning our balza landed us on the coast of Machala, from whence we travelled by land to the town, the distance being about two short leagues. The next day we sent oway our baggage in a large canoe to the Salto de Tumbez; going myself in the same canoe, being disabled by a fall the preceding day. Don George Juan, with the servants, followed on horseback: the whole country being level, is every where full of salt marshes, and overflows at high water, so that the track is not sufficient for two to go abreast.

The Salto, where I arrived on the 7th at night, is a place which serves as a kind of harbour for boats and small vessels. It is situated at the head of some creeks, particularly that of the Jambeli, between fourteen and sixteen leagues from the coast, but entirely destitute of inhabitants, no fresh water being found in any part of the adjacent country, so that it only serves for landing goods consigned to Tumbez, where they are carried on mules kept there for this purpose; and in this its whole trade consists. The Salto is uninhabited; nor does it afford the least shelter, all the goods brought thither being deposited in a small square;

and, as rain is seldom or never known here, there is little danger of their receiving any damage before they are carried to Tumbez.

Here, as along the sides of all the creeks, the mangrove-trees stand very thick, with their roots and branches so interwoven as to be absolutely impenetrable; though the swarms of moschitoes are alone sufficient to discourage any one from going among them. The only defence against these insects is, to pitch a tent, till the beasts are loaded, and you again move forward. The more inland parts, where the tides do not reach, are covered with forests of smaller trees, and contain great quantities of deer; but at the same time are infested with tigers; so that if the continual stinging of the moschitoes deprives travellers of their rest, it also prevents their being surprised by the tigers, of the fury of which there are many melancholy examples.

On the 9th in the morning I arrived at the town of Tumbez, situated seven leagues from the Salto; the whole country through which the road lies is entirely waste, part of it being overflowed by the tides, and the other part dead sands, which reflect the rays of the sun so intensely, as to render it necessary in general to perform this journey in the night.

The heat is excessive; nor have they here any rain for several years successively; but when it begins to fall, it continues during the winter. The whole country from the town of Tumbez, to Lima, contained between the foot of the Cordillera and the sea, is known by the name of Valles, which we mention here, as it will often occur in the remaining parts of this narrative.

Tumbez was the place where, in the year 1526, the Spaniards first landed in these parts of South America, under the command of don Francisco Pizarro; and where he entered into several friendly conferences with the princes of the country, but vassals to the Yncas. If the Indians were surprised at the sight of

the Spaniards, the latter were equally so at the prodigious riches which they every where saw, and the largeness of the palaces, castles, and temples; of all of which, though built of stone, no vestiges are now remaining.

Along the delightful banks of this river, as far as the water is conveyed, maize, and all other fruits and vegetables that are natives of a hot climate, are produced in the greatest plenty.

As the whole territory of this jurisdiction within Valles produces only the algarroba, maize, cotton, grain, a few fruits and esculent vegetables, most of the inhabitants apply themselves to the breeding of goats, great numbers of which are continually sold for slaughter, and from their fat they make soap, for which they are sure of a good market at Lima, Quito, and Panama; their skins are dressed into leather called Cordovan, and for which there is also a great demand at the above cities.

Though the badness and danger of the roads in Peru scarce admit of any other method of travelling than on mules, yet from Piura to Lima there is a conveniency of going in litters. These, instead of poles, are suspended on two large canes, like those of Guayaquil, and are hung in such a manner as not to touch the water in fording rivers, nor strike against the rocks in the ascents or descents of difficult roads.

On the 24th we left Sechura, and crossed the desert, making only some short stops for the ease of our beasts, so that we arrived the next day at five in the evening at the town of Morrope, 28 or 30 leagues distance from Sechura, though falsely computed more by the natives. The extent and uniform aspect of this plain, together with the continual motion of the sand which soon effaces all tracks, often bewilders the most experienced guides, who however show their skill in soon recovering the right way; for which they make use of two expedients: first, to observe to keep the wind directly in their face; and the reverse upon

their return; for the south winds being constant here, this rule cannot deceive them: 2d, to take up a handful of sand at different distances, and smell to it; for, as the excrements of the mules impregnate the sand more or less, they determine which is the true road by the scent of it. Those who are not well acquainted with these parts expose themselves to great danger, by stopping to rest or sleep, for when they again set forward they find themselves unable to determine the right road; and when they once have lost the true direction, it is a remarkable instance of providence if they do not perish with fatigue or distress, of which there are many melancholy instances.

They report at Chocope, as something very remarkable, that in 1726 there was a continual rain of 40 nights, beginning constantly at four or five in the evening, and ceasing at the same hour next morning, the sky being clear all the rest of the day. This unexpected event entirely ruined the houses, and even the brick church, so that only some fragments of its walls remained. What greatly astonished the inhabitants was, that during the whole time the southerly winds not only continued the same, but blew with so much force, that they raised the sand, though thoroughly wet. Two years after a like phænomenon was seen for about eleven or twelve days.

In Truxillo there is a sensible difference between winter and summer, the former being attended with cold, and the latter with excessive heat. The country of this whole valley is extremely fruitful, abounding with sugar canes, maize, fruits, and garden stuff; and with vineyards and olive yards. The parts of the country nearest the mountains produce wheat, barley, and other grain; so that the inhabitants enjoy not only a plenty of all kinds of provisions, but also make considerable exports to Panama, especially of wheat and sugars.

At Santa Maria de la Parrilla we were entertained with a sight of an ignited exhalation, or globe of fire

in the air. Its direction was continued for a considerable time towards the west, till having reached the sea coast, it disappeared with an explosion like that of cannon. Those who had not seen it were alarmed, and imagining it to be a cannon fired by some ship arrived in the port, ran to arms, and hastened on horseback to the shore, in order to oppose the landing of the enemy. But finding all quiet, they returned to the town, only leaving some sentinels to send advice, if any thing extraordinary should happen. These igneous phænomena are so far from being uncommon all over Valles, that they are seen at all times of the night, and some of them remarkably large, luminous, and continuing a considerable time.

From the distances carefully set down during the whole course of the journey, it appears that from Tumbez to Piura is 62 leagues, from Piura to Truxillo 89, and from Truxillo to Lima 113; in all 264 leagues. The greatest part of this long journey is generally performed by night; for, the whole country being one continued sand, the reflection of the sun's rays is so violent, that the mules would be overcome by the heat; besides the want of water, herbage, and the like. Accordingly the road all along is rather distinguished by the bones of the mules which have sunk under their burdens, than by any track or path. For notwithstanding they are continually passing and repassing throughout the whole year, the winds quickly efface all the prints of their feet. This country is also so bare, that when a small herb or spring happens to be discovered, it is a sure sign of being in the neighbourhood of houses. For these stand near rivers, the moisture of which fertilizes these arid wastes; so that they produce that verdure not to be seen in the uninhabited parts; as they are such merely from their being destitute of water; without which no creature can subsist, nor any lands be improved.

In the towns we met with plenty of all necessary provisions; as flesh, fowl, bread, fruits, and wine; all extremely good, and at a reasonable price; but the traveller is obliged to dress his meat himself, if he has not servants of his own to do it for him; for in the greatest part of the towns he will not meet with any one inclinable to do him that piece of service, except in the larger cities where the masters of inns furnish the table. In the little towns, the inns, or rather lodging-houses, afford nothing but shelter; so that travellers are not only put to the inconvenience of carrying water, wood, and provisions, from one town to another, but also all kinds of kitchen utensils, Besides tame fowl, pigeons, peacocks, and geese, which are to be purchased in the meanest towns, all cultivated parts of this country abound in turtle doves, which live entirely on maize and the seeds of trees, and multiply exceedingly; so that shooting them is the usual diversion of travellers while they continue in any town; but except these, and some species of small birds, no others are to be had during the whole journey. On the other hand, no ravenous beasts, or venomous reptiles, are found here.

The distribution of waters by means of canals, which extend the benefit of the rivers to distant parts of the country, owes its origin to the royal care and attention of the Yncas; who, among other marks of their zeal for promoting the happiness of their subjects, taught them, by this method, to procure from the earth whatever was necessary either for their subsistence or pleasure. Among these rivers, many are entirely dry or very low, when the waters cease to flow from the mountains; but others, as those of Santa Baranca, Guaura, Passamayo, and others continue to run with a full stream during the greatest drought.

The usual time when the water begins to increase in these rivers is the beginning of January or February, and continues till June, which is the winter

among the mountains; and, on the contrary, the summer in Valles; in the former it rains, while in the latter the sun darts a violent heat, and the south winds are scarce felt. From June the waters begin to decrease, and in November or December the rivers are at their lowest ebb, or quite dry; and this is the winter season in Valles, and the summer in the mountains. So remarkable a difference is there in the temperature of the air, though at so small a distance.

The city of Lima, or as it is also called the city of the kings, was, according to Garcilaso in his history of the Yncas, founded by don Francisco Pizarro, on the feast of the Epiphany, 1535; though others affirm that the first stone was not laid till the 18th of January that year; and the latter opinion is confirmed by the act, or record of its foundation, still preserved in the archives of that city. It is situated in the spacious and delightful valley of Rimac, an Indian word, and the true name of the city itself, from a corrupt pronunciation of which word the Spaniards have derived Lima. Rimac is the name by which both the valley and the river are still called. This appellation is derived from an idol to which the native Indians used to offer sacrifice, as did also the Yncas, after they had extended their empire hither; and as it was supposed to return answer to the prayers addressed to it, they called it by way of distinction Rimac, or He who speaks. Lima, according to several observations we made for that purpose, stands in the latitude of 12° 2′ 31″ S. and its longitude from the meridian of Teneriffe is 299° 27′ 7$\frac{2}{3}$″. The variation of the needle is 9° 2′ 30″ easterly.

Its situation is one of the most advantageous that can be imagined; for, being in the centre of that spacious valley, it commands the whole without any difficulty. Northward, though at a considerable distance, is the Cordillera, or chain of the Andes; from whence some hills project into the valley.

The temperature of the air of Lima, and its alte-

rations, would be greatly injured by an inference drawn from what is felt in the same degree of north latitude; as Lima would from thence be concluded another Carthagena; the latitude of both cities, one in the northern and the other in the southern hemisphere, differing but very little; whereas in fact it is quite the reverse. For as that of Carthagena is hot to a degree of inconvenience, this of Lima is perfectly agreeable. And though the difference of the four seasons is sensible, all of them are moderate, and none of them troublesome.

Spring begins towards the close of the year, that is, towards the end of November, or beginning of December. But this is to be understood only of the heavens, as then the vapours which filled the atmosphere during the winter subside, the sun to the great joy of the inhabitants again appears, and the country now begins to revive, which during the absence of his rays had continued in a state of languor. This is succeeded by summer, which, though hot from the perpendicular direction of the sun's rays, is far from being insupportable; the heat, which would indeed otherwise be excessive, being moderated by the south winds, which at this season always blow, though with no great force. At the latter end of June, or the beginning of July, the winter begins, and continues till November or December, the autumn intervening between both. About this time the south winds begin to blow stronger, and bring the cold with them; not indeed equal to that in countries where snow and ice are known, but so keen that the light dresses are laid by, and cloth or other warm stuffs worn.

There are two causes of the cold felt in this country, and Nature, wise in all her ways, provides others which produce the same effect at Quito. The first cause of cold at Lima is the winds, which passing over the frozen climes of the south pole, bring hither part of the frigorific particles from those gelid regions; but as a sufficient quantity of these could not

be brought over such an immense space as lies between the frozen and torrid zones of its hemisphere, Nature has provided another expedient: during the winter, the earth is covered with so thick a fog, as totally to intercept the rays of the sun; and the winds, by being propagated under the shelter of this fog, retain the particles they contracted in the frozen zone. Nor is this fog confined to the country of Lima: it extends with the same density northward through all the country of Valles, at the same time filling the atmosphere of the sea; as will be shown hereafter.

This fog seldom fails daily to cover the earth, with a density that obscures objects at any distance. About 10 or 11 it begins to rise, but without being totally dispersed, though it is then no impediment to the sight, intercepting only the rays of the sun by day, and by night those of the stars, the sky being continually covered whatever height the vapours float in the atmosphere. Sometimes, indeed, they are so far dispersed as to admit of seeing the disk of the sun, but still precluding the heat of his rays.

It is not unworthy of observation, that at the distance of only two or three leagues, the vapours are much more dissipated from noon to evening than in the city, the sun fully appearing so as to moderate the coldness of the air. Also at Callao, which is only two leagues and a half from Lima, the winter is much more mild, and the air clearer, during that season; for the days at Lima are very melancholy and disagreeable, not only on account of the darkness, but frequently during the whole day the vapours continue in the same degree of density and position, without breaking, or being elevated above the earth.

It is in this season only that the vapours dissolve into a very small mist or dew, which they call garua, and thus every where equally moisten the earth; by which means all those hills, which during the other

part of the year offer nothing to the sight but rocks and wastes, are clothed with verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the most beautiful colours, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who, as soon as the severity of winter is abated, resort into the country, which exhibits so elegant an appearance. These garuas or dews never fall in quantities sufficient to damage the roads, or incommode the traveller; a very thin stuff will not soon be wet through; but the continuance of the mists during the whole winter without being exhaled by the sun, renders the most arid and barren parts fertile. For the same reason they turn the disagreeable dust in the streets of Lima into a mud, which is rather more offensive.

The winds which prevail during the winter, are nearly, though not exactly, south; sometimes shifting a little to the S. E. between which and the south they always blow*.

The extraordinary singularity observed in the kingdom of Peru, namely, *that it never rains*; or, to speak more properly, that the clouds do not convert themselves into formal showers, has induced many naturalists to inquire into the cause; but in their solutions of this difficulty they have varied, and invented several hypotheses to account for so strange an effect. Some attribute it to the constancy of the south winds, concluding that, as they are incessant, they propel the vapours rising from the sea to the same point; and thus by never resting in any part, as no opposite winds blow during the whole year to check their course, there is not time sufficient for the mists to collect themselves, and, by an increase of gravity, to descend in the manner of rain. Others have attributed it to the natural cold brought by the south winds, which continue the atmosphere in a certain de-

* The wind here blows S. by E. to S. by W., but generally about S. S. E. from June to December. A.

gree of heat during the whole year, and thus increase the magnitude of the particles of the air, which with the nitrous effluvia acquired in its passage over the surface of the sea, together with those of the several minerals with which this country abounds, lessen its velocity, and consequently its power of uniting the vapours so as to form drops whose gravity is greater than that of the air. To this we may add, that the rays of the sun not exerting a force sufficient for uniting and putting them in motion, the heat being greatly lessened by the coldness of the wind, the fog cannot be converted into drops of rain. For while the weight of the cloud does not exceed that of the air, by which it is supported, it cannot precipitate.

I shall not censure this, or any other hypothesis, formed for explaining the above phænomenon, not being certain that I have myself discovered the true cause; I shall however give the reader my thoughts, and leave them to the discussion of philosophers. In order to this I shall lay down some preliminary principles, which may serve as a foundation to those who shall apply themselves to discover the true cause of this phænomenon, with some instructions for judging of the several hypotheses that have been formed on this extraordinary subject.

1. It is to be supposed, that throughout the whole country of Valles, no other winds are known during the whole year than the southerly, that is, between the S. and S. E. and this not only on the land, but also to a certain distance at sea: it evidently appearing that the winds are limited between the S. and S. E. It is therefore very strange that some writers should assert that they are confined between the S. and S. W. as this is absolutely false. There are indeed intervals when these winds are scarce felt, and an air, though extremely small, seems to come from the north, and which forms the fog. 2. In winter the S. wind blows harder than in summer, especially near the surface of the earth. 3. Though no formal

rain is ever known in the country of Valles, there are wetting fogs called garuas, which continue the greatest part of the winter; but are never seen in summer. 4. When the garuas fall, it is observed that the clouds, mist, or vapours which rise from the earth, remain almost contiguous to its surface; and the same fog which is converted into a garua, begins by a moist air, till the humidity gradually increasing to its greatest condensation, the small drops which fall are easily distinguishable. This is so natural, that it is known in all other countries subject to any degree of cold, and, consequently, not to be wondered at in this.

I give the name of cloud, mist, or vapours, to that which produces the garua or small rain; for though there may be some accidental distinctions between these three kinds, they are not such as cause any material difference: the fog being only the vapour condensed more than when it first rose; and the cloud only a fog elevated to a greater height, and still more condensed than the former: so that in reality they may all be considered as one and the same thing, differing only in degrees of density, and therefore it is of little importance whatever name it is called by.

5. The rays of the sun during the summer cause a prodigious heat all over Valles, and the more so as they are received upon a sandy soil, whence they are strongly reverberated, the winds being at the same time very weak. Hence it appears, that the second hypothesis above related, is not founded on truth; for, if the force or agitation of the south winds be the cause which hinders the vapours from rising to the height necessary for forming rain, this cause generally ceasing in the summer, the rain might be expected to descend; whereas quite the reverse happens, the garuas being then much less common. 6. Particular times have been known, when, the nature of the country departing as it were from its usual course, formal showers have fallen, as we have already mentioned in describing the towns of Chocope, Truxillo,

Tumbez, and other places; but with this singularity, that the winds continued at south, and blew much stronger during the time of the rain, than is usual either in winter or summer.

These six preliminary principles are common to this climate, and are the only guides that must be followed in determining the true cause why it does not rain in Peru as in Europe, or, more properly, as is common in the torrid zone.

It will readily be granted, that the wind blows more strongly in some regions of the atmosphere than in others; experience itself having sufficiently proved this to be fact; as on high mountains, along whose summits a strong wind is felt, when at the foot hardly any can be perceived; at least we found this to be the case in all the mountains of the Cordilleras, one of the greatest inconveniences to us being the strength of the wind. And indeed this is every where so common, that any person may be convinced of it by only ascending a high tower, then he will soon perceive the difference between the strength of the wind at the top and at the bottom. I am not ignorant that some have endeavoured to prove, that on the land this proceeds from the inequalities of its surface, which hinder the winds from blowing in the plains or low countries with that force which is felt on eminences; but the same thing happening at sea, as experience has abundantly proved, it appears beyond dispute that the surface is not the place where the wind exerts its greatest force. This being granted, it may be confidently asserted that the south winds blow with the greatest force in a portion of the atmosphere at some distance from the earth; but not generally higher than that in which the rain is formed; or where the aqueous particles unite so as to form drops of any sensible gravity or magnitude. In this country therefore the clouds or vapours elevated above this space, that is, those which have the greatest degree of altitude, move with a much less velocity than the winds

under them. Nor is it uncommon in other climates, besides that of Valles, for these clouds to move in a direction contrary to the more dense ones below it. Thus it appears to me, that without the danger of advancing irregular suppositions, the space of the atmosphere, where the winds generally blow with the greatest force, is that where the large drops commonly called rain are formed.

Now in order to explain the singularity of this remarkable phænomenon, I conceive that in summer, when the atmosphere is most rarefied, the sun, by the influence of his rays, proportionally elevates the vapours of the earth and gives them a greater degree of rarefaction; for, his beams being then in a more perpendicular direction to the earth, they have the power of raising them to a greater height. These vapours, on their touching the lower part of the atmosphere, where the winds blow with the greatest force, are carried away before they can rise to the height required for uniting into drops, and consequently no rain can be formed. For as the vapours issue from the earth, they are wafted along the lower region of the atmosphere, without any stop; and the winds blowing always from the south, and the vapours being rarefied proportionally to the heat of the sun, its too great activity hinders them from uniting. Hence in summer the atmosphere is clear, or free from vapours.

In winter the rays of the sun being less perpendicular to the surface of the earth, the atmosphere becomes considerably more condensed, but the winds from the south much more so, as being loaded with the frigorific particles from the frozen zone, which particles it communicates to the vapours as they issue from the earth, and consequently renders them much more condensed than in summer: hence they are hindered from rising with the same celerity as before.

To these must be added two other reasons; one,

that the rays of the sun for want of sufficient activity dissipate the vapours less, so that they rise much slower. The other, that the region where the wind has its greatest velocity being, in this season, near the earth, will not admit of their rising to any height; and thus they continue contiguous to its surface, where they still follow the same direction, and form the moist fog then felt: and having less space to dilate themselves than at a greater height, they, consequently, sooner come into contact, and, when sufficiently condensed, descend in a garua.

In the middle of the day the garua ceases, being then dispersed, which proceeds from the sun's rarefying the atmosphere, whence the vapours ascend, and remain suspended at a greater height, and thus they are rendered more tenuious; and being raised to a region where they have more room to dilate, they are so far dispersed as to become imperceptible.

After all, it must be owned that both in summer and winter, some vapours must surmount the difficulty of the wind in that region where its velocity is greatest, and getting above it ascend to a greater height; though not indeed in the very part where they first reached this current of wind, but at some distance from it; so that these vapours are to be considered, on one hand, as yielding to the current of the air, and on the other, as ascending in proportion to the rarefaction they have received from the rays of the sun. Hence it follows, that these vapours cannot be those which are most condensed, as the difficulty of rising is always proportional to the degree of condensation; and at the same time their magnitude would render them more susceptible of the impulse of the wind. So that these consequently being the most subtile or tenuious, on having passed that region, the celerity with which they were before carried upwards is decreased, and great numbers of them being united, form that lofty mist which is seen after the cloud is totally dissipated. This mist can-

not be converted into rain; for having passed above the region proper for its formation, all the parts become congealed, and their weight can never be increased sufficiently to overcome the resistance of the air which supports them; for the quantity of those which have overcome this obstacle being inconsiderable, they cannot be united with a sufficient quantity of others to withstand the continual dissipation occasioned by the action of the rays of the sun. Nor can they descend in either snow or hail, as might be expected from their present state. Besides, following always, though with less velocity, the current of the wind, any such concretion of them as to form a thick cloud is prevented: for, as we have already observed, these mists are so tenuious as to afford in the day-time a confused view of the disk of the sun, and of the stars in the night.

In order to render the premises agreeable to observation, one difficulty still remains, namely, that those lofty mists are seen only in winter, and not in summer. But this, in my opinion, must naturally be the consequence; for, besides the general reason that the stronger influence of the rays of the sun disperses them, it proceeds from the increase of the force of the winds during the winter in a region nearer the earth than in summer; and the nearer the lower part of this region is to the surface of the earth, the nearer also will be the upper part; while, on the contrary, in the summer, the higher the lower part of this current of air is, the higher will be also its upper part; and, as we must suppose with all philosophers, that the vapours of the earth can ascend only to that height where the gravity of the particles of the vapours is equal to those of the air; and the rapidity of the wind extending in summer to these limits, they are consequently involved in its violent impulse; and thence there cannot be such a multitude of conglomerations as to form the mist so common in winter; for the winds in this season

strongly blowing through a region nearer the earth, the agitation in the upper parts is proportionally less. And this current of air being below the region to which vapours can ascend, the space intercepted between the upper part of this current, and the part to which vapours rise, becomes filled with them. All this seems natural, and is confirmed by experience; for in winter the south winds are stronger on the land than in summer. But as a further proof may be thought necessary, I have added the following:—

It has been said that in the town of Chocope, two very hard and continual rains have happened; and that the same thing is more frequently seen at Tumbez and other towns of those parts, after some years of continual drought, which seems strange; for that being in the country of Valles, and not at all different from Lima, no rain would naturally be expected there. Two causes for this, however, have occurred to me, one of them flowing from the other. I shall begin with the first, as productive of the second.

From what has been said, it may be inferred, that in a country or climate where one and the same wind perpetually prevails, there can be no formal rain; and in order to form it, either the wind must entirely cease, or an opposite wind must arise, which by checking the course of the vapours, brings them into contact with those lately exhaled from the earth, and causes them to condense in proportion as they rise by the attraction of the sun, till, being rendered heavier than the air by which they were supported, they descend in drops of water.

On reconsidering the circumstances of what happened at Chocope, it will appear, that during the whole day the sky was clear, and that it was not before five in the evening that the rain began, and with it the violence of the wind. It should also be observed that in the time of the brisas in those climates where they are periodical, they blow strong-

est between the setting and rising of the sun; and this happening in September and the following months, forms the summer in Valles, when they enjoy clear days and a lucid atmosphere. This was the case at Chocope at the time of that rain; for though the inhabitants did not precisely mention the season in which that event happened, yet the several particulars related, especially that the south winds then prevailed with an uncommon force, sufficiently indicate that it was in the summer, as this would not have been at all remarkable in winter, when they are very variable and sometimes stormy. It may therefore be safely concluded that these events happened during the summer; and, by way of corollary, that the brisas being stronger than usual, and advancing so far on the continent as even to reach the south winds, they were overpowered by them, and shifted their point; but the succeeding south winds rendering it impossible to return in the same place, they left their former region and blew in a current nearer the earth; by which means the vapours which had been exhaling during the whole day, after being carried by the strongest current of wind to a certain distance, ascended to the region where the brisas prevailed; and being there repelled by them, had time to condense; for, being within that region where the rain is formed, or where many imperceptible drops compose one of a large magnitude and gravity, and being more minutely divided by the influence of the sun, they continued to ascend, till that power ceasing by the setting of the sun, they again condensed, and their weight becoming too heavy to be supported in the air, they descended in rain, which was the more violent, as the vapours were strongly repulsed by the brisas. At the dawn these winds, as usual, began to decrease, and the rain gradually lessened. The south winds blew all day as before; and there being then in the atmosphere no other winds to oppose

them, they carried with them the vapours as they exhaled, and the atmosphere continued clear and serene.

This happened at Chocope, situated at a much greater distance from the parts to which the brisas extend than Tumbez, Piura, Sechura, and other towns where this is more frequent, as being nearer the equinoctial; notwithstanding no brisas or north winds are felt in that part of the atmosphere near the surface of the earth: so that it is probable, or rather indeed evident from experience, that the north winds, at the time they prevail, more easily reach to the countries nearest the equinoctial, than to those at a greater distance, though not so as to be felt in the atmosphere near the earth, but in a more elevated region. Consequently, it is natural for rains to be more frequent in the former than in the latter, where these winds very seldom reach, whether in that part of the atmosphere contiguous to the earth, or another, which being more distant from it, they blow there more violently.

I at first declared against any positive assertion, that the opinion I have now laid before the reader is founded on such undoubted physical principles, that no other can be advanced more conformable to phænomena; it being difficult immediately to fix on causes which agreeing with all circumstances, leave the mind entirely satisfied: and, as all within the reach of human perspicuity cannot be accommodated to every particular, as entire conviction requires, let it suffice that I have here delivered my thoughts, leaving the naturalists at full liberty to investigate the true cause, and when discovered, to reject my hypothesis*.

* A more probable conjecture is, that the vapours which arise in the great South-Sea, and are brought into this neighbourhood by the south wind, (where they would naturally con-

As rain is seldom or never seen at Lima, so that place is also equally free from tempests; so that those who have neither visited the mountains nor travelled into other parts, as Guayaquil or Chili, are absolute strangers to thunder and lightning; nothing of that kind being known here. Accordingly, the inhabitants are extremely terrified when they first hear the former or see the latter. But it is very remarkable, that what is here entirely unknown, should be so common at thirty leagues distant, or even less, to the east of Lima; it being no further to the mountains, where violent rains and tempests are as frequent as at Quito. The winds, though settled in the above-mentioned points, are subject to variations, but almost imperceptible, as we shall explain. They are also very gentle, and even in the severest winters, never known to do any damage by their violence; so that if this country was free from other inconveniences and evils, its inhabitants could have nothing to desire in order to render their lives truly agreeable. But with these signal advantages, nature has blended inconveniences which greatly diminish their value, and reduce this country even below those on which nature has not bestowed such great riches and fertility.

It has been observed that the winds generally prevailing in Valles throughout the whole year, come from the south; but this admits of some exceptions, which, without any essential alteration, implies that sometimes the winds come from the north, but so very faint, as scarcely to move the vanes of the ships, and consist only of a very weak agitation of the air, just sufficient to indicate that the wind is changed from the south. This change is regularly in winter,

---

dense into clouds and fall in showers,) are attracted by the Cordilleras, whose tops are generally inveloped in clouds frightful to behold, which spend themselves in tremendous tempests, even shaking the foundations of those lofty mountains.

and with it the fog immediately begins, which in some measure seems to coincide with what has been offered with regard to the reason why showers are unknown at Lima. This breath of wind is so particular, that from the very instant it begins, and before the wind is condensed, the inhabitants are unhappily sensible of it by violent head-aches, so as easily to know what sort of weather is coming on before they stir out of their chambers.

The time of our stay at Lima and Callao was taken up in the diligent execution of several commissions with which the viceroy had been pleased to honour us, for putting the coasts and other parts of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; that in case an English squadron should make any attack, a vigorous resistance might discourage any further attempt of that nature. Having made the necessary dispositions to the viceroy's satisfaction, and four men of war which had been sent at the beginning of the summer to cruize off the coast of Chili, in order to attack the English squadron at their first appearance, being returned without the least information of any foreign ships having been seen in those seas; and the season of the year now inclining to winter, when every one was of opinion that it was utterly impracticable for Mr. Anson and his ships to get round Cape Horn that year, if (as indeed we concluded) he had not already performed it; we desired leave, as our longer stay could be of no service, to return to Quito, in order to prosecute the original design of our voyage. This leave we with some difficulty obtained; by reason of the great want of officers in Peru, and the certain advice the viceroy received, that the Spanish squadron under the command of don Joseph Pizarro had not been able to get round Cape Horn. But at length, convinced that our stay would greatly retard the execution of his majesty's particular commands, and confident that on any sudden exigency he would find the same alacrity in us to obey his or-

ders, he was pleased to grant our request, and dismissed us in the most polite manner.

The course generally steered from Callao to Paita is first W. N. W. till the ships are past the Feralones of the island of Guara. From thence N. W. and N. W. one quarter northerly, to a latitude a little beyond the outermost island of Lobos, or Wolves.

The land of this whole coast is low; but there are two signs which evidently indicate its being near. First the sea-wolves, which are seen near these islands, and at three or four leagues distant from them. The second is the great flocks of birds all along this coast, flying two or three leagues from the shore, in quest of food.

At all times this voyage is of a most disagreeable and fatiguing length; for though the distance according to the latitude of these ports be only 140 leagues, a ship is very fortunate to perform it in forty or fifty days; and if even after spending that time in continual labour, she be not obliged to return again to Paita: such accidents being very common; and it is nothing extraordinary to meet with two or three misfortunes of the same kind successively, especially if the ships make a great deal of lee-way, when it is often a twelvemonth's task. They relate here a story to this purpose, that the master of a merchant ship, who had been lately married at Paita, took his wife on board with him, in order to carry her to Callao. In the vessel she was delivered of a son, and before the ship reached Callao the boy could read distinctly. For after turning to windward two or three months, provisions growing short, the master put into some port, where several months were spent in procuring a fresh supply; and after another course of tacking, the same ill fortune still pursued him; and thus four or five years were spent in tacking and victualling to the ruin of the owner, before the ship reached Callao.

On our arrival at Quito, we made it our first business to join the French mathematicians, who were

pleased to express a great deal of joy at our return. Mr. Godin, during our absence, had finished the astronomical observations to the northward; and though Messrs. Bouguer and de la Condamine had also gone through them, yet they still purposed to repeat them.

We had now been three months at Quito, waiting till Mr. Hugot, instrument-maker to the company, had finished some indispensable works in which he was then employed, that he might accompany us to the place where Mr. Godin, after finishing the observations, had left the instrument, which required some repairs, in order for our making use of it in finishing our part of the work. But on the 5th of December, 1741, when we were animated with the hopes of concluding our task in two or three days, the melancholy news arrived at Quito, that Paita had been pillaged and burnt by a squadron of men of war, commanded by commodore Anson; and which was too soon confirmed in all its circumstances, by letters from the corregidor and other officers of Piura, giving an account that on the 24th of November, at two in the morning, the Centurion man of war, being the commodore's ship, had entered that harbour, and sent her longboat a-shore with forty armed men, under the advantage of the night, whereby the inhabitants and strangers who happened to be in the place, were awaked from their sleep by the surprise of an invasion, the first notice of which was given by the cries of a negro; so that filled with confusion and terror, like persons unable to recollect themselves, most of them had leaped from their beds, and fled naked from their houses, without knowing whether their enemies were in possession of the town; or whether by a vigorous resistance they might not be repelled; the mind, on so great and sudden a perturbation, being but little capable of such reflections.

Not so don Nicholas de Salaza, the accomptant of Piura, who happened to be then at Paita, on some

affairs of his office. This gentleman, attended only by a negro slave, with an equal presence of mind and resolution, threw himself into the little fort, built for the defence of that small town, and fired two or three shot towards the place where he heard the noise of the oars. Upon this the long-boat stopped; but the fort was obliged to give over firing for want of hands to assist an officer who had shown so generous an example of resolution. The English, concluding very naturally that the fort was also abandoned, landed about half a league N. of the town, to which they immediately marched, and finding it forsaken, entered the fort, where, for fear of any surprise, they kept themselves all night. But the inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives, and accordingly fled to a mountain betwixt the Silla and the town, where they concealed themselves, except a few slaves, who finding that the enemy were all retired into the fort, took the advantage of the night, and boldly returned into the town, bringing off such arms and effects of their masters as the night would permit, hiding in the sand what they found too heavy to carry up to the top of the mountain.

There were unfortunately then at Paita great quantities of meal, fruits, and brandy, consigned to the provinces of the mountains by the way of Piura; besides other goods deposited in the warehouses to be sent to Panama. There was also no small quantity of gold and silver. As soon as day-light returned, the English left their retreat, and seeing every place forsaken, they began to enter the houses, which are so many magazines for goods. It was not long before they met with a quantity of brandy and wine, of which, like men whose appetites are not to be governed at the sight of plenty after long distress, they made a very licentious use, and became so greatly inebriated, that the mulattoes and negro slaves, seeing their condition, abandoned their fears, and became so familiar with the English sailors as

to drink with them, whilst others carried off hampers filled with the goods of their masters, together with considerable quantities of gold, which they buried in the sand. The long-boat, however, returned on board the ship, but her chief spoils consisted of provisions; and the men employed in that service regaled themselves with a degree of intemperance equal to those who guarded the fort.

The inhabitants of Paita, who still timorously continued on the mountain, though in want of everything, dispatched an express to don Juan de Vinatea y Torres, the corregidor of Piura, and a native of the Canaries, who, agreeably to his own character of prudence and intrepidity, immediately assembled all the militia of that city and its dependencies, and hastened by forced marches through a troublesome sandy road of fourteen leagues to Paita. The English had been three days masters of Paita, when, discovering these succours, and being informed by the negroes and mulattoes, that the militia of Piura, headed by a famous general, were coming to dislodge them from the town, enraged at this, but wanting courage to defend what they had gained, or rather surprised, they carried off whatever they could, and took their leave of the place by ungenerously setting fire to the houses; an action which could reflect but little honour on the arms of their nation, but was rather a malicious transaction, to revenge on the poor inhabitants the coming of the militia, whom they did not dare to face. Nobody indeed imagined at that time that this proceeding was in consequence of any orders issued by the commander, and it was aftewards known that he was under great concern for such unjustifiable behaviour.

The corregidor of Piura, as he had been very active in the defence of Paita, so he lost no time in sending advice of the descent to the corregidor of Guayaquil, that he might put that city in a posture of defence; it being natural to suppose that the

English would also make an attempt there, as it had always been attacked by every enemy who before infested those seas. Accordingly the inhabitants of Guayaquil were soon in arms, and the best measures taken with the utmost expedition. But the force of the enemy being uncertain, no other ship having been seen at Paita than that which entered the port, the corregidor and magistrates applied for assistance to the president and audience of Quito; who, among other measures for securing Guayaquil from the rage of the English, required us, in his majesty's name, to repair immediately to that city, and take upon us the command of the troops, all the jurisdictions having received orders to send their contingencies; and to direct the works to be raised, and the trenches necessary to be thrown up in the places most advantageous and most exposed.

As affairs of this nature admit of no delay, we immediately prepared for the journey; and leaving Quito the 16th of December, arrived at Guayaquil on the night of the 24th. But the passage of the mountains was inconceivably fatiguing, the natural difficulty and badness of the roads, it being the beginning of winter, having been greatly increased by the violent rains.

Having gone through all the necessary operations, and taken the most proper measures to defeat the attempts of an enemy, and such as we had the pleasure of seeing approved by the council of war held in that city, our longer stay only hindered the conclusion of our grand design, and was of no further use here, especially as it was then certainly known that the enemy's squadron had sailed for Manta, the coasts of which, though in the jurisdiction of Guayaquil, are nearly twenty-eight leagues N. of that city, and consequently to leeward of it. It was also known that the fleet intended to proceed from Manta to Acapulco. Impatient at the loss of time, we applied to the same council of war, who

were pleased to grant leave for one of us to return to Quito, in order to complete the observations still remaining, that on any subsequent exigency we might be the more disengaged; but at the same time thought it necessary that one of us should continue on the spot to act on any sudden emergency. The matter was soon agreed on between don George Juan and myself, namely, that he should remain as commandant of Guayaquil, while I returned to continue the observations at Quito. But, before I proceed, it will not be amiss to give an account of the transactions of the enemy's squadron in those seas, according to the depositions of some prisoners whom they set ashore at Manta.

This squadron, at its entrance into the South Sea, besides being dispersed, was in a very shattered condition, but arrived successively at the island of Juan Fernandes, to the number of four ships, from fifty to sixty guns, the Centurion and the Gloucester, a frigate between thirty-six and forty guns, and a victualler. These ships came to an anchor close to the shore, their crews being very much diminished, and those which remained very sickly. Tents were pitched, a kind of village built, with an hospital for the recovery of their men. They arrived at this island in the month of June, and the commander was so quick in his prosecution of hostilities, that as soon as a number of sailors sufficient to man the frigate were recovered, she was sent out on a cruize; and this being in the common track of ships bound from Callao to the coast of Chili, they had the good fortune to take two or three, all of them richly laden, particularly the Aranzaza, one of the largest employed in these seas. Great numbers of men died on the island of Juan Fernandes; but on the recovery of the remainder, and the ships being careened, they sunk the victualler, and some time after the frigate, putting the guns and provisions on board the Aranzaza. After this the whole squadron put to sea upon

fresh enterprises, and about eight or nine vessels fell into their hands; and between Paita and the island of Lobos, they took a coast ship of great value. The sacking of Paita was the last act of hostility they committed in these parts; for the English commodore having procured intelligence of the short time requisite to alarm Guayaquil, and finding that there had been abundantly more than sufficient, prudently abandoned a design, against which he judged insuperable precautions had been taken; and indeed had he made an attempt, in all probability those spirits would have been depressed, which were so greatly elevated at their success at Paita.

After leaving Paita they steered for the coast of Manta, where they put the prisoners they had taken in the merchant ships on board a long-boat to make the best of their way to the land, the ships keeping ten or twelve leagues from the shore; but many of the sailors, negroes and mulattoes, who had nothing to lose, voluntarily entered with them. They now determined to sail for the Philippines, in order to intercept the galleon in her return to those islands, and which was to sail from Acapulco some time in January. This was doubtless the most advantageous scheme that could be formed in their circumstances. But in this they were disappointed by the viceroy of Mexico; who, from the intelligence sent by the viceroy of Peru to all the ports on the coast of the South Sea, as well as by expresses dispatched from Guayaquil and Atacames to Panama, deferred sending the ship that year; which the enemy being apprized of, they burnt the Aranzaza, as they had before the other prizes, and continued their voyage towards the Philippines, where, by a long perseverance in a most tedious cruize, they accomplished their design; for the Acapulco ship returning when all the danger was imagined to be over, fell in with the Centurion, and after a short though smart engagement was taken.

But to resume the thread of the narrative, to which I hope this has been no disagreeable interruption. On the 5th of January, 1742, I set out from Guayaquil for Quito, being the very worst time of the year for performing that journey, and as such I experienced it by several misfortunes. In one of the rivers we were obliged to ford; the two mules which first entered were swept away by the current, and that which carried my portmanteau was lost; and the other, on which an Indian rode and led the former, swam with great difficulty to the shore; and the Indian saved himself by holding fast by the creature's tail, in which manner they were carried near a quarter of a league below the ford. If the travelling up the mountains was not attended with such eminent danger, it was extremely troublesome, a space of about half a league having taken me up from seven in the morning till seven in the afternoon, the mules, though light, falling at every step, nor was it an easy matter to make them rise. And soon after the creatures became so fatigued, they even sunk under their own weight. At length I reached Quito on the 19th of the same month; but had hardly alighted from the mules with the hopes of resting myself after these dangers and fatigues, when the president informed me, that three days before he had sent away an express with letters from the viceroy, directing us to hasten to Lima with all possible expedition; and charging him in particular to provide immediately every thing necessary, that our journey might not be a moment delayed. It was therefore no time to think of rest; and accordingly, after making such provisions as were absolutely necessary, I set out on the 22d of the same month, and a third time crossed that difficult mountain in my way to Guayaquil; where having joined don George Juan, who was included in the orders, we travelled night and day, with a dispatch answerable to the governor's impatience, all the towns on the road having received

orders to keep beasts in readiness, that we might not be detained a moment; and accordingly we reached Lima the 26th of February. In the mean time the viceroy had ordered a squadron of four men of war to sail from Callao to Panama, for the defence of that place, which touched at Paita, in order to gain intelligence of the enemy's ships, having orders to attack them if possible; but, as we have already observed, they were sailed to the coast of Acapulco. On our arrival the viceroy was pleased to express great satisfaction at our dispatch, and to honour us with several commissions suitable to the exigence of affairs; giving us the command of two frigates which he had ordered to be fitted out for the security of the coast of Chili, and the island of Juan Fernandes, against any reinforcement coming to the enemy. For though commodore Anson had made no secret of his intentions to the prisoners, and they had eagerly published them, no dependance could be had on informations given out by the enemy himself, and which were the more suspicious as he told them openly. Besides, it was well known that this squadron originally consisted of more ships; and we were apprehensive that though the remainder had failed of reaching these seas, yet by perseverance and a second effort they might succeed.

Commodore don Joseph Pizarro had also been disappointed in getting into these seas this year, though he had attempted it in a single ship called the Asia; but was obliged to put back to Buenos Ayres with the loss of one of his masts, and another was carried away just at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. These disappointments rendered it the more necessary for the viceroy to provide for the defence of the coast of Chili, as all ships must pass near it in their course to Peru.

The service our squadron was employed on being that of cruising in those seas, in quest of the enemy, as long as it should be thought requisite, the commodore, without staying any longer than was absolutely necessary, came on board, and we immediately put to

sea, and several times visited the islands of Juan Fernandes, till the 24th of June 1743, when we shaped our course for Callao, which port we entered on the 6th of July. The day following the commodore and principal officers went on shore, and were received by don Joseph de Llamas, general of the forces in Peru, and governor of Callao; who, on account of the first employment, resides at Lima, but was come to Callao to compliment the commodore. He attended him to Lima and introduced him to the viceroy, who expressed his great satisfaction at his safe arrival after such long expectations. He was also met on the road by the principal persons of the city.

The squadron being safely arrived at Callao, with the commander in chief of the South Sea, a title given to don Joseph Pizarro, and a sufficient number of officers of such distinguished zeal and experience, that they might well supply our place without detriment to the service; and at the same time we being willing to put the finishing hand to our principal work, we asked the viceroy's leave to return to Quito; but his excellency was desirous that we should first complete some particulars he had committed to our care.

We now began to deliberate on our return to Europe, on the favourable opportunity of some French ships which were preparing to sail for Spain; as we should then pass round Cape Horn, and not only complete from our own experience an account of the South Sea, but be enabled to make observations on the whole course. Another, and indeed our principal motive was, the safety of our papers, concluding there could be no danger in a neutral ship, as we then imagined those to be. The concurrence of so many advantages immediately determined us; and leaving Quito, we set out for Lima, where I arrived first, don George Juan having some days been detained at Guayaquil by a fresh commission by the viceroy. These ships not sailing so soon as expected, I employed the interval in drawing up an extract of all interesting obser-

vations and remarks, and presented it to the viceroy, who was pleased to order the papers to be preserved in the secretary's office, that, if any misfortune should happen to us in the voyage, our sovereign might not be totally disappointed in his generous views of promoting the useful sciences of geography and navigation.

Having determined on the voyage for returning to Spain, on our arrival at Lima in the year 1744, we were informed that two of the French frigates, Notre Dame de la Délivrance and the Lys, lay at Callao, and were soon to sail. Such a favourable opportunity was not to be missed; and accordingly don George Juan and myself agreed for our passage, and also to make the voyage in separate ships, that one at least might escape the dangers to be apprehended in so long a voyage; there being thus the greater probability that one might reach his country, and there give an account of our proceedings with regard to the commission with which we had been honoured.

The viceroy had given us leave to return with the greatest marks of esteem; and the ships being ready, we embarked on the 22d of October, and the same day put to sea, steering our course for Chili. The two frigates kept company till the 11th of November, when they separated in the latitude of 33° 40', the Lys being obliged to touch at Valparaiso, whilst the Délivrance continued her course for Conception Bay, where she came to an anchor on the 21st of November. This voyage was remarkably short, being performed in twenty-nine natural days. What greatly contributed to this expedition was, that having put to sea at the end of winter, we fell in with some breezes at N. which carried us to the southward, and saved us the trouble of standing so far out to sea, as must be done when the summer is advanced.

On the 4th of March we had fair weather, with the wind at N. N. E. and W. on the 5th at S. E. and ... on the 6th S. and S. W. changing round the

whole compass, and scarce ever continuing a day in one point, till the 8th, when we found ourselves in the latitude of 55° 16′ and 14° 30′ E. of the meridian of Conception, having weathered both Cape Horn and Staten Land.

On the 21st of May, having an appearance of fair weather, the frigates made sail, and at half an hour after nine the Louis Erasme discovered the island of Fernando de Norona, bearing west one quarter southerly, distance nine leagues, as was afterwards verified by the log-line.

This island we imagined to be totally desert; but from a supposition that for the conveniency of its harbour, ships of any nation returning from the East Indies might, either for water, or any other necessary occasion, put in there, it was agreed by the captains of the French frigates to go in, and under English colours, in order the better to conceal their course; and in case we found any ships of the enemy, to take the best precautions in their power for defence. But to our great satisfaction, we saw on our approach two forts with the Portuguese flag flying, and a brigantine with an ensign and long pennant of the same nation.

On the frigates coming to an anchor in the bay, and all our apprehensions dissipated by a certainty that the Portuguese possessed this island, we took in our English colours, and hoisted French, and successively saluted the Portuguese flag, which was answered by all the forts in the bay.

Having taken in the necessary supplies of wood and water, with some calves and hogs, it was determined to proceed to sea with all expedition, in order to retrieve in some measure the delay which the repairs, however slight, of the Délivrance had occasioned.

On the 21st of July, about six in the morning, being in 43 deg. 57 min. latitude, and 39 deg. 44 min. E. of Conception, we discovered two sail within three leagues of us; bearing E. N. E. The rays of

the sun had hindered us getting sight of them sooner. They stood to the S. W. and our three ships kept on together N. E. without altering their course till seven in the morning, when being within little more than cannon-shot of each other, the largest of the two fired a gun with shot, and at the same time both hoisted English colours; our frigates also formed a line, though little in a condition for fighting; for besides being weakly manned, and the want of arms and ammunition, they had no nettings for securing the men, so that both the quarter-deck and forecastle were exposed.

We, however, after the enemy had hoisted their colours, continued sailing in a line, but still in our proper courses, till the smallest of the English ships bore down upon us, and fired several shot to oblige us to hoist our colours; on which, at half an hour after seven, a fire both of great guns and musketry began on both sides, and at eight o'clock the ships were within pistol-shot of each other.

The force of the three French frigates was this: the Louis Erasme carried twenty guns; eight on the quarter-deck of eight-pounders, and the twelve on the forecastle six-pounders, and had betwixt seventy and eighty persons on board, seamen, passengers, and boys. The Marquis d'Antin also carried ten guns on a side, the five aftermost of six-pounders, and the five forward of four; and had aboard about fifty or fifty-five persons. La Délivrance was still smaller than the other two, having only seven four-pounders on a side, and all the persons on board did not exceed fifty-one.

The enemy, who afterwards proved privateers, were considerably superior in force. The largest of them, called the Prince Frederick, commanded by captain James Talbot, carried thirty guns, twenty-four of them being twelve-pounders, besides crossbar shots which stuck in our masts and sides, and six six-pounders on the quarter-deck. The name of the

smallest privateer was the Duke, captain Morecock, had ten guns on a side, and these likewise twelve-pounders, besides padereros on both, which did great execution on our rigging. The Prince Frederick to all appearance keeping a continual fire both with the great guns and small arms, could not carry less than two hundred or two hundred and fifty men, and the complement of the Duke from the like circumstances we concluded to be about one hundred and fifty or two hundred.

The fight was maintained with great resolution and alacrity on both sides, though under this considerable disadvantage to the French, that one broadside from the enemy did twice the execution of one from their ships: and as for musketry, with which the English were well furnished, and kept an incessant fire, all that the French could use, was about twelve or fourteen on board each ship, it being present death for any one to show himself on the forecastle, and a musket was what very few on board knew how to make use of. At length, about half an hour after ten, the Marquis d'Antin, which was in our rear, struck to the largest of the enemy, with which she was engaged, after losing her captain, who died encouraging his men with the same vigour that he had begun the action. And however reluctant they who survived were to the surrender, it was now become of absolute necessity, the ship having received so many shot betwixt wind and water, that she was on the point of sinking.

The captain of the Délivrance, which was the headmost ship, seeing one of our company taken, and judging from this diminution of our force, there was still less hope of a successful event, he prudently crowded sail, that whilst the enemy's ships were taken up with their prize, he might get from them; for no sooner had the Marquis d'Antin struck her colours, than the least of the enemy's ships withdrew from the action which she had alternately maintained

with the other two, in order to secure the prize, whilst the larger was to renew the fight. It was half an hour after eleven when the Délivrance thus began to seek her safety in flight: the Louis Erasme could not hesitate to follow her example; but the largest of the English privateers was not long in coming up with her, and by the superiority of their force, and the vigour with which they exerted it, soon laid her under a necessity of surrendering, though not till the worthy captain had been wounded, so that he died the following day. The two privateers being now taken up each with its prize, and the S. E. wind freshening, favoured the escape of the Délivrance, which stood N. E. and at four in the evening got quite out of sight both of the privateers and prizes.

The cargoes of the Marquis d'Antin and the Louis Erasme thus taken, were valued at three millions of dollars, two in coin, gold and silver, and ingots, or wrought plate. The other consisted in cacao, which was the principal part of her lading; some quinquina and Vigonia wool.

The captain of the Délivrance, after this, in all appearance, fortunate escape, consulted with his officers what course was most adviseable to steer. Among them was one who had often been at Louisburgh in the island of Cape Breton, near Newfoundland; and had a perfect knowledge of the situation and nature of the place. He likewise informed us, that in the beginning of the summer, two men of war were every year sent thither, to carry money and troops for that place and Canada: and likewise to protect the cod-fishery.

On the 13th of August, at six in the morning, we saw a brigantine plying along the coast for Louisburgh; the Délivrance, on this, hoisted a French ensign, which was answered by the other firing two or three guns. This gave us no manner of uneasiness, concluding that the brigantine, suspecting some deceit in our colours, had fired those guns as a warning to

the fishing barks without, to get into the harbour; and they put the same construction on this firing, immediately showing the greatest hurry in making for a place of safety. An hour afterwards, being near eight o'clock, we saw coming out of Louisburgh two men of war, which we immediately took for ships belonging to a French squadron stationed there for the security of that important place, and that they had come out on the signal from the brigantine, that a ship had appeared in sight, lest it might be some Boston privateer with a design on the fishery. Thus we were under no manner of anxiety, especially as they came out with French colours, and one of them had a pennant. All the forts of Louisburgh, as well as all the ships in the harbour, which he could now plainly distinguish, wore the like disguise. Here I must refer to the reader's imagination the complacency and joy which swelled every heart, imagining that we now saw the end of all our fears and disasters; a place of safe repose after a voyage of danger and fatigue. Then let the reader be pleased to think what an edge the melancholy disappointment gave to our astonishment and dejection, when amidst the indulgence of such pleasing ideas, we found our hopes destroyed, and all our visionary schemes of delight ending in the real miseries of captivity.

We were now so near the two ships which were coming out of the harbour, that orders had been given for hoisting the boat out to go with an officer on board that which seemed to be the commodore; and we unloaded our guns of their shot to salute them. The smallest, which carried fifty guns, leading the way, came along side of us; then indeed, from what we both heard and saw, our fatal disappointment became too evident, and our misfortune was immediately confirmed to us: the ship hoisting English colours, and firing into us, carried away the foretopsail halliards, that the sail dropped down, and at the same time the larger ship came up on the star-board side of

us. Betwixt two such enemies no reasonable person will offer to charge the captain of the Délivrance with cowardice; that without offering any resistance, which would have been a wild temerity, he immediately struck his colours. The boat from the smallest ship came aboard and took possession of us, having as she advanced been hoisted out for that purpose; and thus, after firing only one gun, returned into the harbour with a very rich prize.

This accident gave a total change to our flattering expectations; brought ruin on our fortunes; overthrew all our ideas of the use and improvement of them. Our joy was stifled in its birth; and instead of our anticipated repose, we entered on a new scene of troubles and distress, aggravated by the loss of our substance and liberty, where we had promised ourselves recreation and enjoyment.

On the 21st of November we sailed for England, a fleet of betwixt sixty and sixty-five ships of all sizes; and among these were two frigates of forty guns, who had continued cruising in these parts to secure the fishery against any attempts of the French privateers. Our voyage to England afforded nothing remarkable; and on the morning of the 22d of December the squadron anchored in Plymouth-sound, except the Sunderland, which kept on her course with a considerable part of the convoy, and at three in the afternoon came to an anchor in Dartmouth road.

We stayed here no longer than till the wind favoured our proceeding to Portsmouth, which was the rendezvous of the whole squadron; and on the 28th the wind veering to the S. W. and W. we got under sail, and on the 29th the ship anchored at Spithead, where at that time lay seven three-deck ships carrying from 90 to 100 guns. From the ship I was carried to Fareham, a pleasant village at the upper end of Portsmouth harbour, and about three leagues by land from the town. This being appointed for the place of my captivity, and of those who had been

included in the capitulation of Louisburgh; the fate of the others was to be confined in the common prison at Porchester castle.

We arrived in England at the time when Charles Edward, eldest son of the chevalier de St. George, landed in the north of the kingdom, among the Scots Highlanders, and was by their assistance endeavouring to recover the throne of his ancestors; though with how little success is now known to all the world. These commotions left little hopes of a favourable reception to us prisoners, whose long sufferings and hardships naturally caused more ardent longings after ease and liberty: and the jealousies, which in such cases are only a prudent care, together with the irregularity of some prisoners, who, contrary to the rules of honour, abuse any indulgence shown them, and violate their parole, occasioned an order for abridging the prisoners of several privileges they had before enjoyed, and confining them with greater strictness.

The insurrection in Scotland induced the Admiralty to issue orders, that all prisoners who were upon leave in London should immediately repair to some distant places; though in this no more was meant than their own security, lest in the present commotions the people should rise upon them, being Roman catholics, the sovereigns of which religion were judged to foment the rebellion. On this I laid aside all thoughts of soliciting leave to go to London, though I was not insensible that my affairs required my personal attendance there. Thus I was obliged to wait till the agitation of the court subsided; for as by their importance they necessarily took up the attention of all the persons at the helm, a considerable time naturally elapsed before I had the pleasure of seeing the accomplishment of the Admiralty's promises relating to my papers.

On my first attendance at the office for prisoners of war, an order was shown me from my lord Harrington, secretary of state, for bringing me to his

house. This nobleman, having been ambassador for some years in Spain, among his other eminent qualities had a great affection for the Spaniards, which he was pleased to extend to me in a most obliging reception, and assurances that nothing should be wanting in him to procure me my papers, or do me any other good offices.

Martin Folkes, esq. president of the Royal Society of London, a person equally distinguished for his learning, politeness, and readiness to do every good action in his power, being informed I was a prisoner at Fareham, and that my papers were lodged at the Admiralty, and fearing they might fall into the hands of persons entirely ignorant of their contents, and by that means be mislaid or abused, had applied for having them delivered to himself; alleging, that as the subject of them related to the sciences, none could be fitter for them than the society. But as they were unhappily mingled with many others of a very different kind taken at the same time, it was difficult to separate them without the presence of the author himself, to distinguish them by the hand and other marks. By his assistance and the alacrity of Mr. Brookes, who was determined not to give himself any rest till the affair was ended to my satisfaction, an order of the Admiralty was obtained to the secretary of the India company, to whom they had all been sent, that I might make a search for them, and those which I should separate were to be sent to the Admiralty. This order met with such a punctual compliance, that it was executed the very day of its date.

The president of the Royal Society, for whom all the lords of the Admiralty entertained an esteem suitable to his great merit, was again pleased to interest himself in behalf of my papers; and in regard to his solicitations the examination of them was referred to himself. This gentleman, who possessed in the highest degree all the social and intellectual qualities,

affability without artifice, a genius which nothing could escape, an amiable deportment, and generous manners, had from my first arrival shown me great kindness; he introduced me to the meetings of the society: and thus to him I owe the acquaintance of many persons of distinction, and the marks of friendship I received from them. He condescended to carry me to the most famous museums, places of delight to a rational curiosity, where all nature is collected into a living history of the several products of the waters and earth, both in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. He further brought me acquainted with several of the most distinguished literati, and carried his friendship very far beyond any thing I could have expected.

The recommendation of so distinguished a person, to whose judgment so much deference was paid in all things, together with the honour of having been one of the two appointed for measuring the degrees of the earth in Peru, had such an influence on the patrons of science, that I should wrong them did I not acknowledge, that to them I chiefly owe the happiness of recovering my papers, my liberty, and the polite treatment several persons of rank and quality were pleased to show me.

Actions like these convinced me of the sincerity of the English, their candour, their benevolence, and disinterested complaisance. I observed the tempers, inclinations, particular customs, government, constitution and policy of this praise-worthy nation, which, in its œconomical conduct and social virtues, may be a pattern to those who boast of superior talents to all the rest of mankind.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Printed by Richard Taylor and Co. Shoe Lane, London.

Published March 1, 1809, by Richd. Phillips, New Bridge Street.